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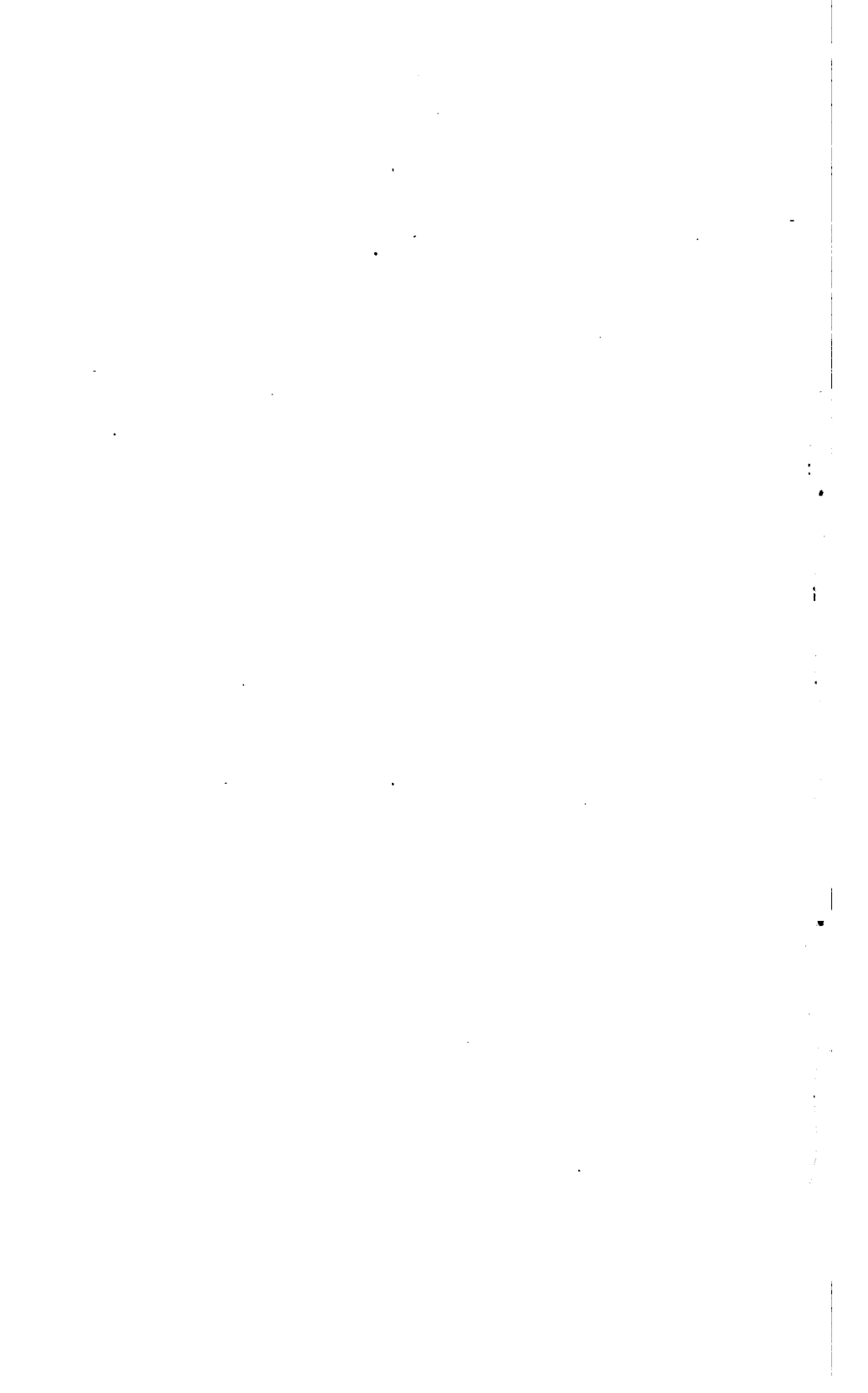




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APRIL 1

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OF THE
BRITISH
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FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCH
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



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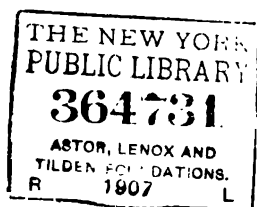
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PREFACE.

THE TENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1904 contains the Papers which were laid before the Sheffield Congress, and some which were read during the recent Session in London (1903-1904); together with the Proceedings of the Congress and the Evening Meetings.

The Council has again to thank the Authors of Papers for many of the Plates and illustrations, while for the Photographs which illustrate the Paper on Roche Abbey and the Proceedings of Congress grateful acknowledgment must be accorded to Mr. J. R. Wigfull. These immeasurably enhance the value of the Volume, and the attractiveness of its appearance. Obituary Notices, notes of recent discoveries, and reviews of books of archæological interest will also be found.

The year has not been remarkable for any very great discoveries in the field of British archæology, although one or two Roman Villas have been unearthed, and several important "finds" have been made in the course of the improvements now being carried out in London. The most interesting event of the year is undoubtedly the decipherment of an inscribed lead tablet, discovered

in the King's Spring at Bath in the year 1830, by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, who finds it to be a document of the highest value to the student of early British Christianity; but detailed reference must be deferred to our next volume.

Among members removed by death, mention must be made of Sir Albert Woods, K.C.B., one of the oldest Associates; Viscount Melville, Mr. Michael Ferrar, and Dr. Creswell.

The Congress at Bath, unfortunately, proved unremunerative as a recruiting ground for new members, yet it is to these that a Society such as ours must ever look, if it is to continue to a distant future the work so ably accomplished by those who inevitably pass away; and, in sending out the sixtieth volume of our *Journal*, the Editor can formulate no better wish for the Association than that the succession of competent and enthusiastic archæologists among its members may never fail.

H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1904.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL, 1904.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.

(Read August 10th, 1903.)



DURING the thirty years that have elapsed since the British Archæological Association honoured Sheffield by holding its Annual Congress here, great changes have taken place. A town of 250,000 inhabitants has developed into a city of over 400,000. Its central streets have been reconstructed almost beyond recognition. The remorseless extension of its boundaries has been accompanied by a lamentable sacrifice of beautiful surroundings, and the submergence of many old landmarks. The immense modern activity evidenced by this material prosperity is inimical to a study of archæology, and to the conservation of matters of antiquarian interest. And thoughts of the human changes brought by these thirty years cannot but be tinged with a shadow of sadness. We miss to-day the faces of many guests with whom it is an abiding memory to have enjoyed pleasant intercourse; for they were men whose erudition enhanced, without overshadowing, their social charm. Even more

poignant is the regret with which one contemplates the havoc time has wrought amongst those most helpful in welcoming the Association. The period in which Hunter had given distinction to South Yorkshire archæology was not, in 1876, so remote as to prevent his influence being still felt as a living presence. For a select band of men, trained in his school, and imbued with his spirit, were still carrying on the work which he, and Mr. Samuel Mitchell after him, had so well begun. The Rev. John Stacey was holding high place as a learned and accurate investigator. Gentle William Swift, courteously generous in placing the results of his minute research at the disposal of all inquirers, was still among us : an encyclopædia of information as curious as it was exact. Dr. Gatty did not claim to be a profound archæologist, but he was unrivalled in treating antiquarian subjects with pleasant skill. Here, too, were Alderman Guest, the historian of Rotherham ; John Daniel Leader, whose labours increased our knowledge of the past and enlarged our antiquarian literature ; William Bragge, the depository of much quaint lore ; Arthur Jackson, the inheritor of a fine enthusiasm for everything relating to Old Sheffield ; Matthew Ellison Hadfield, and John Brightmore Mitchell-Withers, stimulating the members of their profession to reverence for the great historic traditions of architecture ; and others who, if less definitely engaged in archæological inquiry, ever extended helpful sympathy to those who were.

These have all passed away, and who is left to take their place ? I am afraid we cannot claim that in the interval between the Association's last visit and this, zeal for architectural research has, in this bustling community, been altogether rampant. In 1873, quietly watchful of your proceedings, Henry Bradley, while patiently discharging uncongenial duties in a dingy warehouse, was laying the foundation of that learning which has placed him in the first rank of English philologists. Before he left us for higher duties, he, with our venerable townsman, Mr. David Parkes, still happily spared, threw invaluable light on our place-names and dialect. Mr. Sidney Oldall Addy, besides working in these and other

fields, has propounded ingenious theories on many obscure points in our local annals, conspicuously on that communal development which Mr. John Daniel Leader also made the subject of searching study. Others, like Mr. W. T. Freemantle, who has devoted himself to bibliography, and Captain Ronksley and Dr. Porter have been labouring unobtrusively on investigations of which we may hope hereafter to see the fruits. Nor must I omit to mention our neighbour, Mr. Robert White, who has just added to the obligations under which he has placed archæologists by the reparation of Nottinghamshire records throwing much light on our early Lords, De Buslis and De Lovetots. But those who are now known to be conducting systematic research might be counted on the fingers of one hand; and it has to be confessed with regret that the Sheffield Architectural and Archæological Society, which for a time did good work and gave promise of much usefulness, has ceased to exist.

Reflections like these may seem but a left-handed greeting to archæologists. I trust they may be taken, as they are intended, to accentuate Sheffield's appreciation of the visit of an Association which comes to wean us from undue absorption in material pursuits. If it does that, your presence here may, like the quality of mercy be twice blessed—may bless both him that gives and him that takes. But the balance of obligation will be on our side if these proceedings revive interest in the story of Sheffield's evolution, augment the number of investigators, and stimulate many to the bestowal of the sympathetic encouragement to whose invigorating influence no student can be indifferent.

As a humble contribution to a broad understanding of the (origin and growth of the forces which have made Sheffield what she is,) I will inflict upon your patience a rapid glance at what seems to me the influence dominating their course and moulding their development through all periods. That influence is the geographical position of the town—rather, I should say, of Hallamshire, for it was with true archæological instinct that Mr. Hunter made his great work the History of Hallamshire, not the History of Sheffield. Its topo-

graphy is the key to its history. The slopes that rise from the confluence of Sheaf with Don, buttressed by a rampart of hills and wild moorland, girdled with primeval forests, and remote, on the only accessible side, from the great tide of life, formed an ideal place of settlement when might was the only right—when it was desirable not to tempt foes, and essential to be provided with secure lines of defence or retreat if they came.

Little is certain as to the British inhabitants of this district. But general knowledge of the slight impress made on the less vulnerable parts of the country by the centuries of Roman occupation teaches us that the tribe, or tribes, here escaped conquest. The men in possession were not brought into subjection; they were only held in check. After Rome's legions had been withdrawn, the Britons came down from their retreats in the hill-fastnesses, uninfluenced by a civilisation manifested only in trained cohorts. They retained their old language, usages, and habits. "Over large tracts of the country," writes Mr. John Richard Green, "the rural Britons seem to have remained apart from their conquerors, not only speaking their own language and owning some traditional allegiance to their native chiefs, but retaining their native system of law." The physical and social circumstances which elsewhere offered insuperable obstacles to any enduring civilisation from a purely military occupation, were especially emphasised in the north-western hill country, where the Pennines run from the Roman wall to join that Derbyshire Peak whose outlying spurs are our watershed. The Romans, when here, were content to use the bridle tracks of the Britons as a cross-route from the Great North road to the lead mines of Derbyshire and the waters of Buxton; and though Sheffield was on their way from Templeborough to Brough, they formed no castrum here, satisfied to guard their line of communication against the descents of Britons from their upland eyries. So, when they departed, the "froward and lawless folk," the long-headed, black-haired people of whom Mr. Addy finds traces, were left, until, in course of time, another stubborn resistance had to be offered to bands of invading Germanic tribes.

That is, when the Saxons came to stay; for doubtless these tenacious inland people were effectually shielded from the earlier predatory raids by territories easier of access and richer in plunder. But the Saxon penetrated here at length. Slowly, painfully, and long years after more open parts of the country had been subjugated, he fixed his hold on Hallam, driving to other regions a race which disdained to sink its freedom by commingling with the outlander. So the Saxon erected his dwelling, and established the institutions characteristic of his kind, on the slopes between Loxley and Rivelin and Sheaf, and overlooking the broader valley where these become united in the Don. But not in permanent peace. Occupying one point on the border line between Northumbria and Mercia, there was, doubtless—though history affords us no guidance as to this—some exposure to internecine tribal strife. Equally in the dark are we respecting the fortunes of Hallamshire when the fierce Danes overran the land. The tumuli on Broomhead Moor, the cairn known as the “the Apronful of Stones,” the human bones discovered at Walderslow Hill, near Bolsterstone, coupled with traditions of conflict thereabouts and combined with a certain suggestiveness of nomenclature, have tempted to picturesque speculation as to a great battle between Saxons and Danes. But this is admitted to be imaginary, even by those who have filled in some details. Our chief ethnological guide here is philology, and the outstanding fact in connection with the place-names and dialect of Hallamshire is their “singular freedom from that Scandinavian element” which manifests itself in closely surrounding districts. Dr. Henry Bradley—who, like the retiring Bishop of Manchester, proves that the output of Sheffield workshops may be something superior even to their cutlery—has pointed out that the names included within a circle of twelve miles’ radius round Sheffield are almost exclusively of Anglo-Saxon origin. Our dialect, too, is a thing apart, showing robust individuality and self-centred independence; so that the common speech supports, though somewhat less emphatically than place-names, the evidence of pure Saxon descent. Dr. Bradley did, it is true, after a friendly controversy with Mr.

David Parkes, admit some weakening of his data, and acknowledged the presence of a slightly larger Danish trace. And I am not unaware that other investigators, chiefly on the evidence of earthworks, burial mounds, and other records left on the face of the land, have drawn a precisely opposite conclusion, interpreting many local characteristics as tokens of an overpowering Scandinavian element. The late Mr. Samuel Mitchell, for instance, not only strongly insisted that the dominance of the Dane was writ large, but, contrary to what I have said of the earlier unsusceptibility of the Britons to Roman influence, he even attributed manifest ethnological variations from any one type, to a certain extent of comingling in blood between Roman legionaries from Gaul and Spain with the race they found here. These conflicts of the learned as to the genesis of Hallamshire's inhabitants, when history was dawning, do not, however, affect my argument. That is, that the district moulded the people who settled and lived here, amid all changes of race, quite as much, if not more than, it was moulded by them—that whatever the fluctuations of conquest, however we may read the special influence at work in forming the idiosyncrasies that differentiate the people of Hallamshire from their neighbours, the primal factor in making it what it is, has been the topographical detachment of the place. This is strictly in accordance with the general fact, familiar to historians, that all settlements have in succession been largely shaped by the physical features of the country; that the very ground, as one puts it, exerted a vital influence on the direction and fortunes of every English campaign, and on the permanent results of such campaigns. You are to have an opportunity of examining some of the records the elder races have left, and I must leave experts to pronounce on their teaching. I only venture on the obvious remark that all attempts to identify the makers of the earthworks at Wincobank and Roe Wood, the remarkable hill-fort of Carlswark, the entrenched camp on Mam Tor, the Bar-dike at Bradfield, and other defences, must necessarily be complicated by the certainty that they have, in turn, served succeeding races—have been used by Briton against Roman, and

Roman against Briton, by Celt against Saxon, and Saxon against Dane. And the archæologist who will also read for us aright the stories enshrined in the stone circles and burial mounds on our moors, the Bailey hill at Bradfield, the tumuli at Broomhead, the ancient sepulchre near Bolsterstone, the burial urn and the Bole Hills at Crookes, the stone and bronze implements in the Weston Museum, will settle many speculations as to the periods I have been discussing, and will solve many problems as to the making of the Hallamshire of to-day.

Whatever the conclusions arrived at from these, it may be reasonably conjectured that when Dane and Saxon had agreed to live side by side, the people of Hallamshire, again benefiting by their seclusion, enjoyed a fair measure of peace and prosperity. That certainly was their state when the Norman invasion burst upon the land. At that time we find them in their township or tun, the Aula of Waltheof, their Saxo-Danish Lord, the mound where the village elders met, the cottages and crofts of the freemen, and the huts of the serfs—all protected by encompassing stockade and ditch. Outside were the common pastures and the plough lands—the fields apportioned among the husbandmen in those long strips of which, as Mr. J. D. Leader has pointed out, our land boundaries retain distinct traces to this day.

Like an unsubstantial pageant, Waltheof's Aula has faded, leaving not a rack behind. Into ingenious speculations as to its situation and rank I do not enter. Whether large or small, whether or not the personal residence of a wealthy noble with greater possessions elsewhere, it is sufficient for our present purpose to know that, as the Earl diplomatically accepted the Norman's sway, and even took Duke William's niece to wife, the condition of his people here was little altered by the change of dynasty. It is possible that Waltheof's subsequent renunciation of allegiance brought the mailed fist of the Conqueror down upon Hallam, obliterating it so effectually as to leave it for all time a mere name without local habitation. But the storm passed, and under a line of Norman lords sagacious enough to conserve the existing order

through grafting on it new forms, the commonalty settled down under a rule that, if sternly arbitrary, was paternal. If it conceded no rights, it ensured, to the obedient, tacit privileges. The outward visible mark of the change is the supersession of Hallam, and the emergence of Sheffield as the seat of the lord. The De Lovetots and De Furnivals set themselves to remove the reproach of there being no church, except at Treeton, in their domain : and their mildly feudal sway was marked by other religious and charitable foundations. The inhabitants of this corner of the West Riding, far from the hum and strife of the busier world, enjoyed under them the happiness said to be the portion of people " whose annals are blank in history's book." But this peaceful obscurity, indicative though it be of social well-being, is inimical to archaeological research. While our ancestors benefited by remoteness from events attracting the eye of the chronicler, we suffer by reason of the veil drawn over a period whose annals are tantalisingly inadequate. In the absence of records we are fain to elucidate disjointed hints by analogies drawn from places richer in archives. While other towns, situated on the great lines of communication, and playing a larger part in schemes of conquest or government, won, as the country settled, early recognition in the form of charters of incorporation, Sheffield humbly plodded along, content with such crumbs as fell from its Lord's table. That its privileges as to common lands, with some voice in regulating the parish pump were, with a readjustment of taxation, continued from Saxon to Norman rule, is evident. The two local historians who have studied the subject most closely interpret differently the status of the community, as revealed in and established by Lord Furnival's charter of 1297. Into controversies respecting the exact position of Free Tenants as distinguished from Free Burgesses, into appraisements of the true bearing of the franchises then conferred, into distinctions between a thirteenth-century town fully incorporated and one with a modified corporate character, this is not the time to enter. The difference, probably, was one of words and show rather than of realities, of petty dignity more than of

actual privilege. It mattered little to those benefited by Furnival's concessions if they missed the shadow, so long as they got the substance. But this has disastrous results on us, as an Archæological Association. This relegation of an out-of-the-way town to a lower municipal status than places of smaller population enjoyed, deprives us of written documents, and throws us back on the teachings of comparative archæology. Nor have we, unfortunately, that collateral help which the Merchant Guilds of other places throw on mediæval English life, when freedom was "slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent."

Thus, from 1297, the date of Thomas de Furnival's Charter, to 1557, when Queen Mary, alienating public property to ecclesiastical uses, had incorporated the Church Burgesses, our municipal history is largely matter of conjecture. Not until 1556 do the accounts of the Burgery, or Town Trust, commence. Not until 1625 have we systematic records of that Cutlers' Company which under King James's Charter, supplanted a Craft Guild of less formality.

This mention of the Cutlers' Company leads me to remark, that great as have been the influences of topography on Sheffield's general history, they may be said to have created, as they have also vitally shaped, her industrial career.

"Five rivers, like the fingers of a hand,
Flung from black mountains, mingle, and are one."

It was these, together with abundant iron, and contiguous forests supplying unlimited charcoal for smelting, that fixed the occupation of the earlier settlers and made them workers in iron. At what period they began to shape that iron into weapons and tools is just one of the problems awaiting illumination. The first known mention of Sheffield cutlery is dated 1340. In a list of goods issued from the King's wardrobe in the Tower (14 Edward III.) there is scheduled, amongst other knives, "*i cul-tellum de Shefeld.*" Next comes Chaucer's oft-quoted reference in the Reeve's Tale, to the "*Shefeld thwytel.*" which the Miller of Trumpington "*bare in his hose.*" That is always cited as proof that Sheffield cutlery had

already attained national fame. But no one has ever explained by what process the name of Sheffield had become applied as a trade description to knives, when Chaucer wrote.

The "Canterbury Tales" are, approximately, contemporaneous with the Poll Tax of 2 Richard II., 1379. That document's revelation of the humble character of the population here emphasises, I may observe in passing, the disabilities incident upon Sheffield's geographical position; but the remarkable thing we have to note for the moment is, that among all the townsmen assessed and among all the trades specified, not a single cutler is named. The nearest approach is one Johannes Coteler, assessed at the minimum sum of a groat. Yet we find cutlers, few, it is true, but prosperous, in the neighbouring Hallamshire villages—in Ecclesfield, Handsworth, and Tinsley. How, then, came Sheffield knives to be familiar to Chaucer?

As might be expected from what has been said, the part played by Sheffield in the events of national history has been but small. The clash of arms has only twice been heard within its borders. As an obscure episode in the Wars of the Barons, De Furnival's Castle (if it were indeed a castle) was burnt in 1266. There is no doubt of the reality of the castle, which, in 1644 was besieged by and surrendered to the Parliamentary forces. These two events, so far from impugning my demonstration of the teachings of the seclusion of Sheffield, strengthen it distinctly, because the intrusive castle, not the town, was in both cases the object of attack. The hostile forces turned out of their way to reduce a structure, which, though militarily obscure and unimportant, might be troublesome. Archæologically we must regret its demolition; but undoubtedly the Commonwealth, in razing the castle in 1648, was wise in removing what was useless in the keeping of friends, and could not be more than an irritating thorn in the hands of foes.

The imprisonment, here, for some fourteen years, of Mary Queen of Scots, is the only other notable point at which Sheffield touches the nation's history. This event re-echoes our old note, for undoubtedly Lord Shrewsbury's

fortalice was chosen, and remained much longer than any other place, Mary's prison, because of the seclusion of its situation. It combined the publicity which made attempts at rescue hopeless, with the obscurity engendering forgetfulness. "Out of sight, out of mind," was Elizabeth's hope; and whatever the effect on contemporaries, her device succeeded so far that until recently historians laid no stress on the fact that out of eighteen years of captivity, Mary spent fourteen in Sheffield.

The nestling retirement of situation once more stood Sheffield in good stead when, in 1745, Prince Charles Edward (who, if tradition may be believed, had found here convenient seclusion for secret conspiracies), poured south with his ragged following. The incursion of bare-legged Highlanders was heralded by frenzied stories of bloody atrocities marking their path. The legend that it was their favourite amusement to impale babies was so abundantly believed, that the infant ancestress of an alderman, who is one of our Vice-Presidents, was hidden in a hollow tree until these modern Herods should have passed by. But, like their ancestral Picts aforetime, the unkempt rabble pressed on without turning aside into Hallamshire. So sundry timid citizens who had incontinently abandoned hearth and home, crept back, shamefacedly, to endure the jeers of their bolder neighbours. Apart from any "moral and intellectual damage" caused by this raid, Sheffield's loss may be appraised at sevenpence. That was the fee paid by the Cutlers' Company to the bellman, when sent round to recall the Corporation to a meeting put off "on account of the Rebels being near us." No opportunity for conviviality at taverns was ever lost, and in a few months Culloden afforded legitimate excuse for rejoicings at "The Cock," accompanied by an expenditure of 1s. 7d. for beadles' cockades, and of 3d. for tobacco-pipes. Thus Sheffield emerged from the crisis cheaply, and without the inconveniences that were the lot of more obtrusive towns.

That, however, was the last time when modest seclusion worked for her good. In 1674, John Ogleby, "cosmographer to King Charles II," published 100 maps of the principal roads radiating from London to all parts

of England and Wales. It was on an iconographic plan, and the scale was generous enough to include complete details. Sheffield has no place in this elaborate survey of the kingdom. Its existence is contemptuously relegated to a note indicating a by-road at Nether Haugh, between Greasbrough and Wombwell, as leading "to Shefeild"—apparently the way through Wentworth and Chapeltown. The Cutlers' Company's accounts teem with payments for letters, sent by special messengers from places on the North road, where they were dropped by a postal service that did not condescend to come nearer. Since those days public effort has been largely directed towards overcoming the disadvantages of living, as it were, in a *cul de sac*. Throughout the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, canals and turnpike roads were fostered as means of deliverance. Within living memory, an enterprising purveyor of the London dailies could only get them here before their news was stale by a service of quick carts which waylaid the express coaches to the North. Even when the era of railways dawned, their pioneers, with strange infatuation, passed by on the other side. And it took many years to get Quarter Sessions to recognise, except as a humble payer of large tribute, the existence of a place with whom boroughs of prescriptive lineage, which Sheffield could, without inconvenience, put in its pocket, would hardly be on speaking terms. It is only in recent years that hoary prerogatives excluding numbers and wealth from due recognition in matters of magisterial and county business, have yielded to the irresistible force of modern facts.

It will, then, be readily understood why, in Sheffield itself, there are but few objects of archæological interest to attract examination by the Association. One reference in *Domesday* is all we know about Waltheof's Hall. One stone, with chevron moulding, is the only proof of a Norman church. One mention alone is there of an early castle—weakened by a contemporary document in which De Furnival himself calls it his house. You have had, this afternoon, an opportunity of judging for yourselves how little of the fifteenth-century church has come un-

scathed through long periods of neglect and many tinkering. The Shrewsbury monuments, after being in perils oft, and suffering much evil treatment, remain its most prized possession. The old Hall in the Ponds is, in its decadence, the only remnant of the appurtenances of a castle whose materials were effectually utilised to rebuild a town of wood in stone. And there is the Manor, whose Lodge, with its tragic memories, has been happily redeemed, by the ducal descendant of its builder, from the decay of the larger structure. Beyond these, and a timbered house here and there, what have we? The oldest thing, after our rivers, is probably that "goit" or mill race which, now relegated to the status of a sewer, fed the Lord's Mill from time immemorial. But, if I am asked to point out the most characteristic remnant of the Hallamshire of the remote past, I would indicate the survivals of the ancient grinding wheels which once studded our streams. These, the most typical relics of the old industrial conditions, have, by a tenacious conservatism, been handed down to us little changed; and I suppose the diligent enthusiast in the archæology of handicrafts might possibly find, hidden away, some archaic smithy, reminiscent, in its rudeness and its fittings, of the quaint structures where the rough apron-men of old fashioned, on their stithy stocks, the wares that made Sheffield famous.

Happily, Hallamshire in some sort atones for Sheffield's archæological poverty. Here we have Ecclesfield, Bradfield, Wincobank, Loughton-en-le-Morthen, Carbrook, and Templeborough. Worksop Priory and Wingfield Manor, though outside our boundaries, are in close historical association with our town. The fragments of the Premonstratensian Monastery of Beauchief (whose story, long ago told by Dr. Pegge, has been further unfolded by Mr. Sidney Oldall Addy), and the Cistercian Abbey of Roche, elucidated by the research of Dr. Aveling, are both on our programme. Your attention will be directed to other interesting examples of ecclesiastical architecture at Blyth, Steetly, Chesterfield and Rotherham. Had time and strength allowed, the Castles of Conisbro' and Tickhill might well have been included. Other shrines

there are, so sacred that into them the impious foot of the archæologist may not tread. Over the wild desolation of Carlswark, and the stern silence of the stone circles and earthworks of our moors, King Grouse holds sway more complete and lordly than that of Briton, or Roman, or Saxon. I trust, however, that even without an invasion of solitudes which give so striking an individuality to our locality, this visit will be both profitable and pleasant; and if the weather denies us the privilege of showing how largely we possess the cheerfulness of Mark Tapley, we, content in the consciousness of virtue, will bear with resignation the denial of opportunity for its display.





RICHARD MASTERS, PARSON OF ALDYNGTON, 1514 TO 1558.

BY ALFRED DENTON CHENEY, Esq., F. R. HIST. S.



IN the following pages I purpose relating certain episodes in the life of Richard Masters; partly, because he furnishes us with a real example of that much-debated ecclesiastic, a Pre-Reformation parson; partly, because he was connected with one of the numerous troublous events of the time of Henry VIII; partly, because the narration will correct an error into which almost all historians have fallen, viz., that he perished upon the scaffold in 1534, as an accomplice of the Holy Maid of Kent.¹

In the year 1511 the rectory of Aldington, in Kent,² became vacant, and Archbishop Warham, in whose gift it was, bestowed it upon Erasmus, of whose learning and judgment he had formed a high opinion, but whose poverty was manifest. Erasmus had, however, scruples of conscience about retaining the living, seeing that his ignorance of the English vernacular practically unfitted him for the duties of a country parson, and he soon afterwards resigned. Temporarily the vacancy was filled by

¹ Even the learned and painstaking editors of the *Calendar of State Papers* have fallen into this error; for, in a footnote to a letter written by Masters to Cromwell (vol. vi, No. 1666), they say: "He was afterwards executed as an accomplice of the Nun of Kent."

² Locally "Aldington" is always pronounced as "Eldington," an example of the light which pronunciation so frequently throws upon ancient orthography. In Saxon times it was written as "Ealdintune" (the old town or settlement), and the original pronunciation has survived the change of spelling,

one of Warham's suffragans, Doctor Thornden, Bishop of Dover, with a charge upon the living of £20 per annum in favour of Erasmus ; but eventually it was offered to and accepted by Richard Masters, M.A., subject to the same condition. Erasmus seems to have had some acquaintance with Masters, as he refers to him as " a young man, learned in Divinity, and of good and sober life" (*Works of Erasmus*, vol. v. p. 678).¹

The rectory of Aldington must have been an enviable position. One of the many manors in Kent which had belonged from early times to the See of Canterbury, it had been especially esteemed by a recent Archbishop (Morton) who had renovated and enlarged the archiepiscopal palace, and maintained the extensive park and chase attached thereto.² Several large mansions lay within the bounds of the parish, and the farmhouses bearing the old names still retain, externally and internally, many vestiges of their former grandeur. Moreover, the healthiness of the situation, the proximity of the sea, and the beauty of the surrounding country must have added largely to the comfort of the rector of Aldington. And Richard Masters was a man worthy of his office: every reference in the record of history to his life and work is in his praise, and

¹ For a full account of the connection of Erasmus with Aldington, see Mr. Purley's *The Weald of Kent*. He gives a most interesting letter, detailing Erasmus' reasons for resigning the preferment, and those of Archbishop Warham for urging the appointment upon him: which reflect credit upon both these true Reformers.

² Some idea of the magnificence of the Courthouse or Palace of Aldington at this time may be gathered from the Royal Survey made in 1608, in which it is stated that there were no less than five kitchens, nine barns, six stables, seven fodder-houses, and eight dove-houses. The demesne lands, including the park, exceeded 1,000 acres. The Report states that the buildings stand on an eminence not far from the sea, without shelter, and would always necessitate a large outlay for repairs. Evidently its decadence dates from that time; till now the only vestiges that remain are the outlines of three or four Gothic windows, that probably lighted the refectory (or the chapel, as stated in the guide-books). It is unfortunate that the Tudor front of the house fell some forty years ago, and was not rebuilt. The modern house, which stands on the site, presents practically no connecting link with its past glories.



ALDINGTON CHURCH AND REMAINS OF ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE.



REMAINS OF ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE ; NOW A FARMHOUSE.

he comes down to us as an example of the English clergy of Pre-Reformation days, of whom Dr. Jessopp tells us: "From the Conquest to the Reformation, it is noticeable that they never ceased to retain the confidence and esteem of their people from first to last" (*The Great Pillage*, p. 107).¹ As we shall presently see, he was a student and a scholar: indeed, when we consider the comparative scarcity and the value of books in the sixteenth century, he possessed quite a library; whilst the furniture of his



The lower portion of the Tower of Aldington Church, showing details.

parsonage would denote him to have been a lover of hospitality. It was during his rule as rector that the fine

¹ Nor must it be assumed that Masters was an exception to the general run of parish priests. Erasmus, outspoken Reformer that he was, gave high praise to English ecclesiastics for their single-minded devotion to their duties; and Dr. Jessopp, a great authority upon pre-Reformation subjects, amply vindicates the Catholic parochial clergy against the aspersions of writers who would have us believe that their ignorance and neglect of their duties formed a potent cause of the "Reformation." (Vide *The Parish Priest in England before the Reformation*.)

tower of Aldington Church, a landmark for many miles around, was almost wholly erected. Commenced in 1507, its progress was slow; but with the whole-hearted pride and affection of the English people before the Reformation for their parish churches, it gradually rose from its foundations as contributions and bequests came in: Thomas Godfrey, of Ruffins Hill, hard by, died there in 1490, and he had left £20 for works connected with the church. Thomas Cobbe, of Goldwells, at the foot of the hill, devised legacies in 1521, expressly for the building of the new steeple and the new window in the north side of the chancel. Thomas Blechynden, of Simnels, left a legacy towards the building of the tower and the insertion of a south window: and so, step by step, the rector must have watched the erection of this noble work. It was never completed. Fifty years after its commencement it reached its present height, but the times of fierce religious strife had supplanted those of religious unity; and this is but one of numerous instances in every county in England in which great parochial works were abandoned in the middle of the sixteenth century—a period far more noted, or notorious, for the robbery and spoliation of the national churches than for their erection or repair.

In 1525 an event occurred in Aldington, which changed the whole current of the peaceful life of its rector. Amongst his parishioners was one Thomas Cobbe, the bailiff or steward of the archiepiscopal estates. He was probably a scion of the family of that name who had resided at Goldwells since the time of Edward the Fourth; that the office he held was of importance may be gathered from the fact that the tenants or the manor at the time of the Royal Survey in 1608 (the estates having become the property of the Crown by “exchange” between Cranmer and Henry VIII), exceeded 200, and included 18 Kentish knights, their respective holdings amounting to 6,000 acres in 23 parishes, exclusive of 44 denes (ancient enclosures) in the Weald (Purley’s *Weald of Kent*)¹ His house still stands: a half-timbered

¹ An additional evidence of the importance of the post is afforded by the fact that, when the manor passed into the hands of Henry VIII, a

building called Cobb Hall. His servant was a young girl, a native of the village, named Elizabeth Barton; and at this period she was subject to fits or trances, during which she saw visions and uttered prophecies. This is not the occasion on which to discuss her history; suffice it to say, in brief, that her fame spread far and wide, and not only Richard Masters, her parish priest, but Archbishop Warham and the good and saintly Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, believed in the reality of her communings with supernatural powers. A great religious revival took place in the district, and pilgrimages were made to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the neighbouring hamlet of Courtup-strete, where she had apparently been cured of her bodily infirmities. Thomas Cobbe would no longer permit her to remain in a menial capacity, but treated her as one of the family; and shortly afterwards she became a Benedictine nun at the convent of St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury. Little did Richard Masters dream, when in 1525, Elizabeth Barton quitted Aldington for the convent, the object of the respectful veneration of the whole countryside, that that had happened which, in a few short years, should bring him to ruin and all but death. In 1533, eight years after the "miracle" at Courtupstrete, the heavy hand of the King fell upon the Nun of Kent. He had known of her reputation, but thought or cared little for her prophecies, until she began to denounce himself and his conduct towards his Queen in the matter of the divorce; the affair was of itself difficult to carry through, and the active opposition of one so venerated by the people as a divinely-guided prophetess was intolerable. Moreover, the crafty Cromwell saw how to implicate others in high position, such as Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, in a conspiracy to trade upon the superstitious credulity of the vulgar. Quickly and secretly the

few years later, the Treasurer of his Household, Sir Thomas Cheney, added the office of High Steward and Keeper of the King's Park at Aldington to his numerous other appointments (*Hasted's History of Kent*). (He was also Constable of Saltwood Castle, Keeper of the mansion of Westenhanger, Chief Steward of Chilham manor, and Master of the Deer in Lymynge Park, besides being Lord Warden the Cinque Ports.)

blow was struck. Not only the Nun herself and those who had been implicated in the opposition to the divorce, but all who had, at any time and in any manner, however remote, been privy to her prophecies, were to be seized and condemned. In the autumn of 1533, Cranmer¹ wrote "To the Prioress of St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury. Sister Prioresss, in my hearty wise I commend me unto you. And so likewise will that you do repair unto me to the manor of Orteforde, and bring with you your nun which was sometime at Courtupstrete against Wednesday next, and that ye fail not herein in anywise. Thus fare you well" (*Cranmer's Remains*, letter xxx). About the same time orders were given to arrest Dr. Bocking, Cellarer of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Richard Masters, as the two ecclesiastics most concerned in the spiritual guidance of Elizabeth Barton; the latter as the parish priest of her Aldington days, the former as her director since her entering the religious life. The charges against them were of knowing that she was an impostor, and aiding and abetting her to their own advantage. On September 25th we find Christopher Hales writing to Cromwell from Canterbury:—"I send up Bokkyng (Cellarer of Christ Church)² and Dudley. . . . These things have been handled as secretly as possible. The official is yet in the country, keeping his visitation; you shall be sure to have him on his return. . . . To-morrow I ride for the parson of Aldynton, whom I will also send" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi, No. 1149). And four days later he writes again: "Till now I could not conveniently get together the official and parson of Aldyngton, whom now I send to you. The parson is a man of good fame, and if the official have not offended in the manner presupposed, I can speak largely for his honesty" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1169). The two priests were committed to the Tower, where they were apparently strictly interrogated as to the persons

¹ Warham had died in 1532.

² The Cellarer of an abbey was an important official, one of the four principal officers: his duties involving the housekeeping and internal management of the affairs of the community.

with whom they had conversed upon the subject. In the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1533 we have the following Deposition (vol. vi, No. 1468). "Mr. Richard Mayster showed the revelation and declaration concerning the King's reign to Oliver Wilkinson his priest (i.e., curate) at Aldyngton; Sir William, priest of Our Lady Chapel at Courte of Streate. . . . Dr Bocking showed the revelation to the priors of Leeds and Horeton." On November 23rd they were placed upon a high platform at St. Paul's Cross, London, together with Elizabeth Barton and a number of other implicated parties, and put to public humiliation before a vast concourse of spectators, as impostors, the Nun reading aloud a "confession of guilt."¹ They were then sent back to the Tower, but a little later Masters was evidently removed to Canterbury, his health broken down by the terrible experience he had undergone. On December 10th, Lee and Bedyll (neither of them men of marked humanitarian feelings) write to Cromwell from Canterbury, begging an answer "touching the Parson of Aldington, as if we carry him to London again he will miscarry by the way" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1512). What was the reply we may gather from a letter written, six days later, by Cranmer to Cromwell, as follows: "The Parson of Aldington and the Monk Dering² were this Tuesday at night delivered unto me at my manor at Forde;" and he desires to know whether it is Cromwell's pleasure that they "shall be put at liberty in their own houses upon sufficient surety," or "to ward and safe keeping" (Cranmer's "*Remains*," letter clviii).³ Apparently they were kept in custody during the four months that elapsed from the execution of Elizabeth Barton (April

¹ I purpose dealing with the matter of Elizabeth Barton in a subsequent Paper upon the Chapel at Court-at-Street.

² The monk Dering seems to have been a man of good birth, probably one of the old Kentish family of that name. His lodging lay on the west side of the cloister of Christ Church, Canterbury, into which it had a double door, having in the window his name, coat-of-arms, and rebus.

³ The archiepiscopal palace at Ford seems to have been a favourite residence of Cranmer's. Its scanty ruins lie near the village of Herne (in the vicinity of the better-known Herne Bay).

20th, 1534) at Tyburn for high treason, together with several ecclesiastics (amongst them the Monk Dering), whose names appear in the Bill of Attainder passed through Parliament by Cromwell; the proceedings before the judges having proved abortive, and the Government apparently not caring to risk a trial during which the accused parties could be heard in their own defence. Richard Masters was included in the list of the unfortunate men, and, it is generally stated by historians that he suffered death with them.¹ This, however, was not the case. It may have been his high reputation for single-hearted honesty of purpose which touched the heart of Cromwell (let us hope that it was, for history has but few good deeds to report of him); but it is certain that the influence of the all-powerful favourite was exercised in his favour, and he was for the time respited. Richard Masters writes gratefully to Cromwell: "Bearing in mind the amiable words you spoke on my behalf before the Council, I was bold to write to you, desiring you to have pity upon me that I may be at my poor benefice, and answer such duties and debts as I am charged with. I have spent all that I had in my great trouble" (*Calendar*, vol. vii, No. 71). In July of that same year (1534) amongst the Royal Grants we have the following entry, viz.:—Richard Masters, rector of Aldington, Kent; Pardon and remission of his attainder—passed in the Parliament holden at Westminster from January 15 to March 30 last; with restitution of goods and possessions. Hampton Court, June 28, 26 Henry VIII. Del. Westminster, July 8;" and the grateful Parson writes to Cromwell: "I am much bound to you for your goodness in expediting my pardon, for which I cannot recompense you. I send you two gold royals" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1666). N.B.—This letter, which is not dated, is evidently in its wrong place in the *Calendar of State Papers*. It should have been among those of 1534, not 1533). And so, after much humilia-

¹ "The nun, Bocking, Dering, Rich, Masters and Golde, were hanged at Tyburn, 20th April, 1554" (Stowe, *Annals*; Strype, *Memorials*). This is incorrect with regard to Rich as well as Masters. Ireland and Hasted both represent Masters as amongst those executed.

tion and suffering, and many months of imprisonment and anxiety, Richard Masters returned to his parsonage, his books, and his household treasures, a free man.

But although he escaped the gallows on that fateful day, April 20, 1534, it would appear that the authorities had not then intended to let him go scot-free, for in the *Calendar of State Papers* (vol. vii., No. 521) we find an inventory of his goods and chattels at Aldington Parsonage, dated on that very day. It affords us so excellent an idea of the possessions of a Pre-Reformation country parson in the first half of the sixteenth century, that I have copied it *in extenso* :

INVENTORY.

Plate.—Twelve silver spoons.

In the Hall.—Two tables and two forms, a painted cloth, a green banker, a laton laver.

In the Parlour.—A hanging of gold and green say, a banker of woven carpet, two cushions, a table, two forms, a cupboard, a chair, three painted pictures, a paper of the names of the Kings of England pinned to the hanging.

In the Chamber on the North side of the Parlour.—A painted hanging, a “bedstedyll” with a feather-bed, a bolster, two pillows, a blanket, coverlet of coarse tapestry, a tester of red and green say, two forms, a jack to set a bason on.

In the Chamber over the Parlour.—Two bedsteads, an old tester of painted cloth, three forms.

At the Stairhead beside the Parson’s Lodging Chamber.—A table, two trestles, four beehives.

In the Parson’s Lodging Chamber.—A bedstead with a feather-bed, two blankets, a pair of sheets, a coverlet of tapestry lined with canvas, bolster, a pillow with a “pillcote,” a violet cloth gown lined with red say, a black cloth gown furred with lamb, three violet cloth hoods, one being lined with green sarsenet, a jerkin of tauny chamlett, a jerkin of cloth furred with white, a jacket of cloth, furred, a sheet to put clothes in, a press, a leather male; a table, two forms, three chairs, two trestles, a tester of painted cloth, a piece of green say hanging with two pictures thereupon, a cupboard, two chests, a little flock bed with a bolster and coverlet, a cushion, a mantle, a towel, 1 lb. of wax candles, forty-two great books covered with boards, thirty-three small books, covered with boards; thirty-eight

books covered with leather and parchment; in the ship-chest in the said chamber, two pieces of red and green say, one tick for a bolster, two ticks for pillows, a cloth tippet, two diaper napkins, two diaper towels, nine sheets, two tablecloths; in the other chest, a sarcenet tippet, two coats belonging to the cross of Rudhill, whereupon hang 33 pieces of money, rings and other things, and two crystal stones closed in silver.

In the Study.—Two old boxes, a wicker hamper full of papers.

In the Chamber beyond the Chimney.—1½ seme of oat malt, a rat trap, and a board.

In the next Chamber Westward.—A bedstead and bedding, a table, a net called a stalker, two augers, etc.

In the Buttery.—Three pewter basons, five candlesticks, three “podyngers,” three “Kelters,” a glass bottle, etc.

In the Priest’s Chamber.—A bedstead and feather-bed, two forms, and a press.

In the Woman’s Keeping.—Two tablecloths, two pairs of sheets.

In the Servant’s Chamber.—A painted hanging bedstead

In the Kitchen.—Eight bacon flitches, a brewing lead, a posnett, a mustard quern, a beehive, and other articles.

In the Milkhouse—Six bowls, two cheeses three podyngers, etc.

In the Bulting-house. — A brass pan, a quern, a bulting-hutch, a tolvett, a tonnell, etc.

In the Larder.—A sieve, a cheese press, a graper for a well, etc.

Wood.—Ten loads of tallwood, ten and a-half of rise-wood.

Poultry.—Nine hens, eight capons, one cock, sixteen young chickens, three old geese, seventeen goslings, four ducks.

Cattle.—Five young hogs called shettes, two red kine, a red heifer, two years old, a bay gelding, lame of spasms, an old grey mare with a mare colt.

In the Entry.—Two tubs, a chest to keep conies, etc.

In the Lime-house.—Five seams of lime.

In the Woman’s Chamber.—A bedstead, and 20 lb. of hempen yarn.

Without the House.—1,500 tiles, 500 bricks, etc.

In the Gatehouse—A fan, a leather sack, three bushels of wheat.

In the Stable beside the Gate.—Two old road saddles, a bridle, a horsebock (? horse block).

In the Barn next the Gate.—30 qrs. unthreshed wheat, 5 qrs. unthreshed barley.





THE OLD PARSONAGE AND SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF CHURCH.



THE OLD PARSONAGE, NOW DIVIDED INTO TENEMENTS.

In the Cartlage (Cart-lodge).—"One weene with two whyles" (one wain or wagon with two wheels); a dung-cart without wheels, two yokes, one sled.

In the Barn next the Church.—19 qrs. unthreshed oats.

In the Gardener.—Three seams, four bushels oats.

In the Court.—Two racks, one ladder.

All the tithes of this Easter are in the hands of the Parishioners.¹

The parsonage-house is still standing, though long since disused as a clerical residence (Purley, in his *Weald of Kent*, makes some severe remarks touching the clerical non-residence which he alleges had been a marked feature at Aldington since the Reformation until quite recent times); it is now divided into tenements. The main features of the house remain intact; the gatehouse and stable and barn beside the gate have gone; but the barn next the church, and an adjoining cart-shed, which was probably the "curtlage" above referred to, remain in an excellent state of preservation. In its leading features, therefore, the old parsonage probably represents very fairly the building inhabited by Richard Masters, and possibly for some short period, by his renowned predecessor, Erasmus. In fact, the whole of this portion of Aldington—farmhouses, cottages, etc.—remains practically

¹ The inventory of the contents of the Parsonage shows a higher degree of comfort and civilisation than would be considered possible from the generally-received ideas as to the domestic conveniences of our sixteenth-century forefathers. To say nothing of bedsteads, feather-beds, pillows and sheets, we have tablecloths, napkins, and silver spoons. The number and size of the parson's books will also excite surprise.

The "priest's chamber" was evidently occupied by the curate (Oliver Wilkinson), and as the woman-servant apparently slept in one of the off-buildings, it is probable that the "servant's chamber," with its "hanging bedstead" (? a hammock), was occupied by the man who tended the horses, cattle and poultry.

The "bulting-house" was the place where the corn was ground in the quern, the bran separated from the flour, and the latter placed in the tub ready for use.

The coats belonging to the "cross of Rudhill" (? Rood Hill) were probably vestments occasionally used in open-air services in Lent at a wayside crucifix (though I cannot trace any such name at present existing in the neighbourhood of Aldington).

A "bedstedyll" (bedstead), "keler" (tub), and "shottes" (young hogs), are terms still used in some of the Kentish villages.

as it was three hundred years ago; with the exception, of course, of the Archiepiscopal palace.

It will be remembered that the gift of the living was encumbered by a condition that Erasmus should receive a yearly pension of £20. Now this was equivalent to some £300 to £400 of our money,¹ a large sum to be charged upon the revenue of the benefice; and after the heavy expenses incurred in obtaining his pardon, Masters seems to have been unable wholly to fulfil his engagements. Erasmus, however, proved a hard and unsympathetic creditor; and a curious and interesting letter is extant written by him from Basle, dated March 15th, 1536, to Cromwell, complaining that he could not get his pension (*Calendar*, vol. x, No. 478). The priest of Aldington had paid half last year, promising to pay the whole in future. This year, however, he had paid nothing, pleading distress, but he (Erasmus) does not see why he should suffer, not being the cause thereof. Moreover, Masters denies that he consented to a regular pension, though he paid it sometimes during Warham's lifetime. Erasmus ends with the grim suggestion that Cromwell "could do much to help him by three words!" I cannot trace any record of the result; but we may well imagine that if Cromwell uttered those "three words," poor Richard Masters would have sold all that he had, rather than once again fall under the displeasure of the all-powerful Vicar-General.

Once more Richard Masters approached the very verge of trouble: for, in 1543, amongst the numerous depositions made to Cranmer against various clergymen of Kent, we find him presented upon the following counts, viz.:—That he never preached in his church at Alyngton (Aldington) nor Smeth (Smeeth, some three or four miles distant), against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, nor set forth the King's supremacy. 2. He has been a great

¹ "The present value of revenues cannot be taken at less than fifteen times the amount returned in 1534" (*Taylor's Index. Monas., Introduction*); also footnote on same page (xxvi). "This proportion appears to agree with the comparative prices of labour at the same period." Taylor wrote in 1821, so that the comparative value would now be considerably higher.

setter-forth in his parish of the Maid of Kent, pilgrimages, feigned relics, and other superstitions, and yet never resented nor reprov'd the same. 3. He has not declared to his parishioners that the eves of such holy days as be abrogated be no longer fasting days. On the Sundays, Candlemas Day, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday, he has not declared the true use of the ceremonies used on those days, according to the King's proclamation. The "aggrieved parishioners" who signed this document were James Blechynden¹ and William Benefelde, gentlemen; Mr. Everynge, John Knight, James Toft, with other (*Calendar*, vol. xviii, Pt. II., page 301.)

Of the rest of his life we know little. He was evidently still rector of Aldington in 1552, as his name appears in the "Inventory of Church Goods taken by Royal Authority in that year;"² and as his successor, John

¹ The Blechyndens seem to have been a somewhat turbulent family. Amongst the Royal grants of January, 1539, we find "William Blechynden, of Aldington, Kent, alias of London, Pardon of all murders, homicides, etc., committed before the 15 Octr., 30 Henry VIII. Grenewyche, 30 Dec. 30 Hen. VIII."

² Inventory of Church Goods. 2nd Dec., 1552 (6: Edw. VI.). Aldyngton. Richard Master, parson; Wm. Smyth and Rich. Ellys, churchwardens; Wm. Halke, inhabitant:—

First: a vestment of blew velvet with the albe.

Item, 2 other vestments, one of blew damaske and the other of green balkyn with a silkyn crosse.

„ 3 cope3, the one of blew velvet, the second of blew sarcenet with starrez, and the third of grene balkyn.

„ 2 surple3 (surplices).

„ a chalice of silver waying nyne unces and a-half.

„ a crosse of lattyn, with the cloth, and the staffe.

„ 2 lattyn candlestiks, and an altar-cloth.

„ 2 towells.

„ 3 bells in the steple.

(Public Record Office, Exch. Q. R. Ch.
Goods, Kent. 3/37.)

"Lattyn" was the material of which monumental brasses were made: it was largely used for candlesticks, bowls, and other church ornaments. The missals and old service books had been removed in 1550. The "cloth" for the "crosse" was the covering placed over the crucifix (commonly called the cross) during Lent.

Caldwell, was not appointed until 1558, that may reasonably be considered as the date of his death. He passed, therefore, through the critical times of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, dying probably just before the drastic changes in religion which followed the succession of Elizabeth to the throne. Let us hope that the latter years of his life compensated somewhat for the stormy period of his middle age.





SOME EARLY DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS OF THE SHEFFIELD DISTRICT.

By I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.

(Read August 14th, 1903.)



O those members of the British Archaeological Association who heard me at Buxton and Leicester, I must apologise for harping on the same string in my remarks to-night; my excuse must be, my desire in every locality to urge the importance of preserving the remains of defensive earthworks. We all know, only too well, how many interesting relics of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and later periods, have been ruthlessly swept away in the course of agricultural and other operations; landowners, farmers, builders, railway companies, and even the War Office, have aided in the work; and it is only by an increase of public interest that we can hope to stem the tide of destruction, and so preserve to futurity these priceless relics of our country's story.

The "story" may be hard to piece together, and sometimes we may err in our conclusions; but it is worth while to preserve every evidence of the far-away past for those who will follow us in the generations to come, and may, with fuller knowledge, complete the story.

The Committee for recording Ancient Defensive Works divides fortresses into certain classes, and those classes are largely in chronological order; but it must never be forgotten that the form or plan of a fortress is not positive evidence of its place in time, for the earliest forms are repeated in later works where the shape of the land and the circumstance of the occasion lent themselves to such formations.

First amongst early fortresses the Committee places those which, being partly inaccessible by reason of

precipices, cliffs, or water, are additionally defended by artificial banks or walls.

Owing to lack of local knowledge (which I much deplore) I cannot say whether you have any bold promontory cut off from its mainland by artificial works of defence; but you have, only eight or nine miles to the west, a somewhat similar and most remarkable fortress.

CARL'S WARK.

Of this I have said so much,¹ and Mr. S. O. Addy has so eloquently written,² that I hesitate to occupy your time, but it cannot be omitted from my remarks on early defensive works near Sheffield.

I know no ancient fortress which presents so weird a picture of loneliness and desolation. It has been likened to "an immense blackened altar," an aspect well shown in an illustration in Mr. Addy's book, *The Hall of Waltheof*.

Imagine a vast table with a rock-strewn area of about 600 ft. by from 150 to 200 ft., rising high above a boggy moor, its rocky sides of dark millstone-grit perpendicular on the north, and partly so on the east and south, while on the west a more gradual slope descends to the moor. Across the narrower western end, where the precipice was lacking, the builders cast up a rampart of earth, facing it outside with a wall of stones. This remarkable dry-built wall remains tolerably perfect on this, the one weak side of the fort, which is further protected by scarping the western slope. Along the base of this scarping the way of access wound up to a path, still hedged in by walls of masonry, passing at the south-west angle into the fort, by a remarkable passage splendidly defended.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson says:—

"It is 7 ft. 2 in. in breadth, and as the road ascending from the valley below passed between the two curvilinear faces of the wall which formed the entrance passage, an enemy advancing to force the gate was exposed to the missiles of the besieged on both sides; while the portion of it to the west, projecting like a round

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vii, N. S., plan, p. 18; *Derbyshire A. and N. H. S.*, vol. xxv.

² S. O. Addy, *The Hall of Waltheof*, 1893.

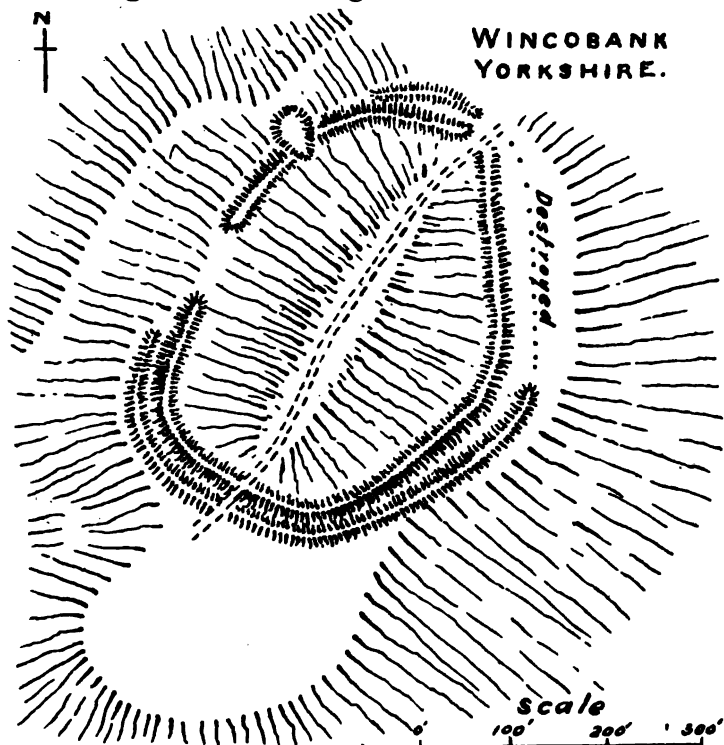
tower, raked the face of the wall to right and left, and formed an advance work over the ascent."¹

How long a time has passed since the spot was fortified we cannot say, but there can be no doubt that the name "Carl's Wark" is evidence that to the Norseman who so christened it, the fortress was an archaic work belonging to a misty past, long anterior to his own era.

Next in order in the Earthwork Committee's scheme we find:—"Fortresses on hill-tops, with artificial defences following the natural line of the hill." Such an one you have at

WINCOBANK.

Much time could be occupied in talking about this commanding fort of the Brigantes, but Mr. Howarth has



so ably depicted its leading features that little remains to be said by me.

¹ *Reliquary*, vol. i, 1860.

It has been claimed as Roman by some antiquaries, but no one who has studied the principles of castrametation adopted by the imperial rulers of Britain can imagine them constructing Wincobank; though they may, of necessity, have occupied it for a time to keep less desirable occupants out of it.

Cobbett, in his *Rural Rides*, I think, describes Sheffield as—a place we must not name in polite society; but, alluding to the beauty of the valleys which radiate from the town, he said it was “in the arms of angels.” Alas! one has now to go a long way along the arms before reaching the “angel” portion, for your city grows, and carries its forges, factories, and slums afar; and one looks from Wincobank’s heights, on one side at least, on to the painful evidences of the modern hunt for wealth.

All the more reason that this summit and its immediate surroundings should be spared; and I may take this opportunity to urge upon those who control the destinies of this city, to use their utmost efforts to secure the preservation of the hill and camp: not only of the camp, but of all the slopes leading to it, so that the grim evidences of modern civilisation may approach no nearer, and that the bits of woodland, remaining here and there, may be preserved. The property belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, and I do not think you will find him unappreciative of the importance of retaining this valuable relic of the pre-Roman era.

Mr. J. D. Leader, speaking of the great earthwork and its associated vallum, says:—“So enormous is the work that by our Saxon and Danish ancestors its origin was deemed supernatural, and so ancient that its ridge became for some distance the boundary between the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield. Upon this eminence doubtless stood a Brigantian city, or hill-fortress.”¹

Personally, I should think that it was, like so many contemporary works, a camp of refuge, to be used mainly when war was rampant in the land. When peace reigned the tribesmen would dwell in the vales below,

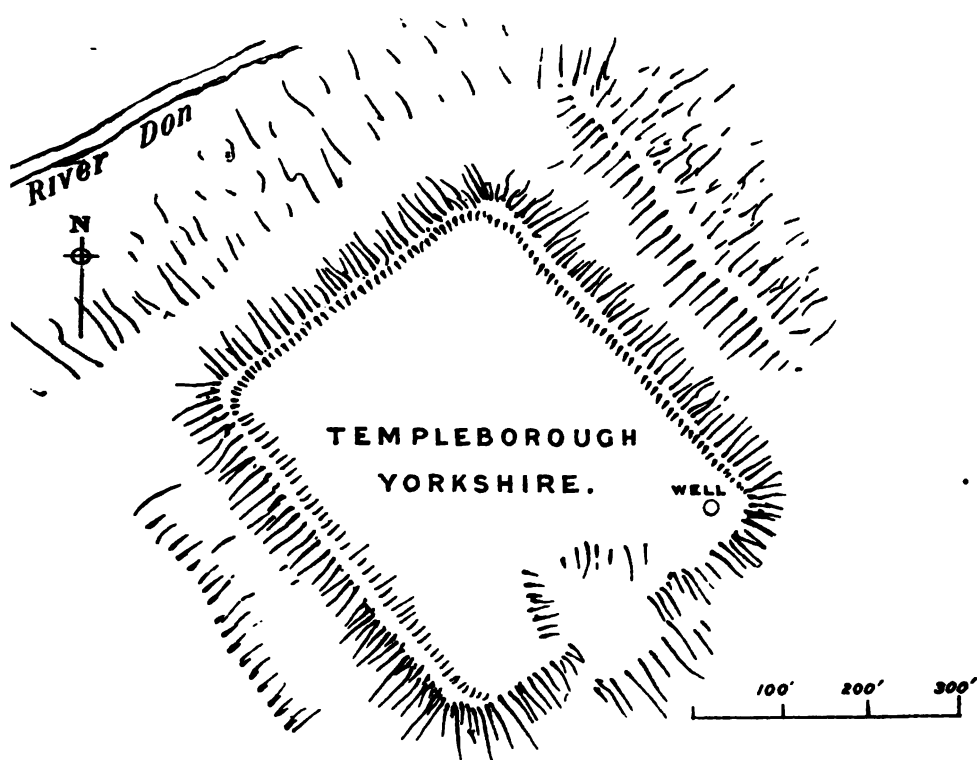
¹ Guest (J.), *Historic Notices, Rotherham*. 1879.

where they could find pasture for beasts and grow food for themselves.

Of its importance as a frontier fortress there can be no question, and we ask, How came its fall from its high estate? The answer lies in the Valley of the Don, where poor remnants may still be traced of the once-important Roman fortress now known as

TEMPLEBOROUGH.

Marching northward, the soldiers of Rome probably found the track, winding through the Don valley,



barred by the Brigantes from their stronghold on Winco-bank; quietly, methodically, the masters of war threw up their protecting banks of stones and earth, forming the usual rectangular "camp." Exactly what fighting ensued we know not, but we know that the Brigantes

yielded, and the excavations of 1877 (recorded by Mr. J. B. Leader in Guest's *Rotherham*) show that the Roman leaders found it wise to establish a permanent station.

I pleaded for the preservation of the whole hill of Wincobank, but what can we say of Templeborough? Is there anything left to preserve?

I think there is; and, fortunately, the builders have not yet annexed the area of this old Roman station or town.

The explorations to which I have already referred show that it became a place of importance, for the explorers found remains of the prætorium, columns of stone, tiles, pottery, and many relics, indubitable proofs of continued occupation under the Roman rule; and one find of special importance is recorded by Mr. Leader—a tile bearing the stamp of the fourth cohort of the Gauls: the cohort whose headquarters were afterwards at Vindolana by the Hadrian Wall.

It is hard to find traces of the protecting wall or rampart now, but from what remained Mr. Leader suggested the likelihood that later occupants, a ruder race than the Romans (men who raised no stone buildings), threw up earthen ramparts on the line of the old Roman works.

Linked with this station by a military road was the one which we now call

BROUGH.

It is situated about 11 miles west of Sheffield, and retains more traces of its surrounding rampart, but in area it is only some 310 ft. by 270 ft.

Two roads met here, and numerous remains of Roman occupation have been found, "silent witnesses of the perseverance of the Roman people, in penetrating to the most remote districts of the land they subjugated."

It is good news that systematic excavations of the camp are to be made under the auspices of the Derbyshire Archæological Society, for it is evident that important structural remains lie beneath the surface at Brough. The Derbyshire Society needs some financial assistance to enable it to carry on this important ex-

ploration; and as the site is not far from here, perhaps I may suggest that some of the wealthy inhabitants of Sheffield should contribute towards this good work.

When the crumbling Roman Empire abandoned its hold on Britain, early in the fifth century, there began the long series of battles and fights in which first northern enemies and afterwards Saxons destroyed the native rule. It is a page of history of which we know little, though Gildas and other early writers record as facts events which may be the offspring of fiction. One old tale must be briefly mentioned because it has a local interest. Gildas relates how Hengist, the Saxon leader, determined by stratagem to overcome the British king Vortigern; how he invited the King, his nobles, and others to a feast; how, in violation of his promise, Hengist ordered his followers to come to the feast secretly armed; and how, at a given signal, the unarmed British guests were set upon and slain, to the number of 300, and how King Vortigern was made a captive.

From another source we hear of the Britons' vengeance for this dastardly deed. Ambrosius Aurelianus, elected king by the Britons, fought a desperate battle with the Saxons upon a plain hard by Mexborough, defeated them, and carried Hengist himself to a castle at Conisborough, and there struck off his head. So runs the legend.

"MOUNT AND COURT" FORTS.

The next class of fortress which claims attention is most important: I refer to those "Mount and Court" strongholds which are found so abundantly, and which have been the subject of much controversy.

The late G. T. Clark and those who adopt his opinion hold these works to be of Saxon, or in some cases of Danish origin. Some modern writers, notably Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. George Nielson, Mrs. Armitage, and recently Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, contend vigorously for a Norman parentage.

For my part, I think that the economic conditions of the Norman settlement amongst hostile Saxons *alone* can account for the vast majority of these little private castles, the offspring of the feudal system, but one is not

prepared to say that none existed ere the Norman William came; indeed, it is generally admitted that a few were creations under Norman influence in Edward the Confessor's days, and even Ordericus Vitalis, whose words have been much quoted, does not say there were no castles in England at the time of the Conquest.

But the question is, Did mount forts exist prior to Edward's reign? Personally, I cannot imagine that fortified mounts and border watch towers were utterly unknown in the land, through the whole period from the days of the Romans to the eleventh century.

I may pass at once to say that there is in this part of South Yorkshire a most interesting series of "mount and court" forts; some possessing now earthworks only, others with more or less of the masonry which replaced the original wooden defences.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN

claims first attention, for here we have a typical little "mount and court" stronghold; the high mount once crowned by a palisade of wood encircling the space around a central tower or hall, from which a wide expanse of country was visible. Another palisade ran along the top of the rampart which surrounds the base-court or "bailey," and there are signs of the previous existence of ramparts to a second or outer court, within which probably stood the huts of the peasantry and the church. Some portion of the present church is of so early a date, that it may well be of Edward's time, or before. The high keep mound and the base-court still retain the fosse, or ditch, and the outer court shows signs of its presence.

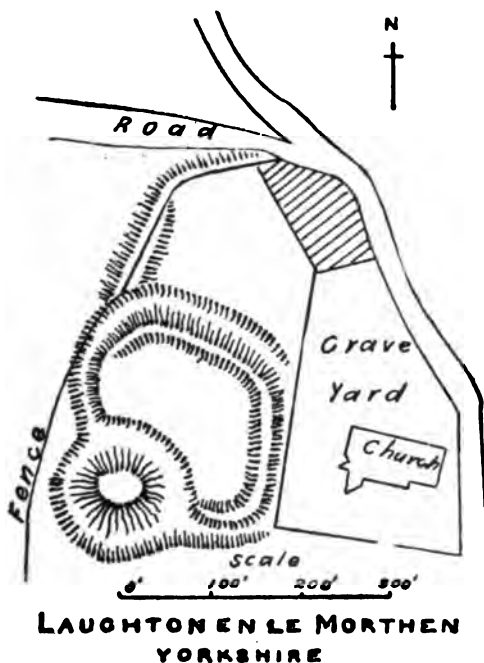
The Bayeux Tapestry gives a picture of the mound fort at Dinan, which materially helps us to understand the construction of such works.

"Below, on the left, is an outer gate or barbican, guarded by turrets on either side; then a ladder-like bridge over the moat, to an entrance-tower or stage, no doubt protecting the main gate to the high stockaded keep. Against the inner side of the stockade wall a fighting platform of wood or earth must run, of sufficient elevation to enable the defenders to throw missiles over or through

the roughly-indicated embrasures. Within the protected area is a hall, probably plastered, surmounted by a tiled roof."¹

Laughton is interesting beyond the other forts to be referred to, because it is mentioned in *Domesday* as the place where Count Edwin had his hall, "*ibi h̄b comes Eduin aulā*." Did this entry in the Great Survey refer to this earthwork fortress?

Much might be said on either side, but on the whole I see no reason why so important a man as the brother-in-



law of Harold, a lord of great territory, a man in close touch with the Court, should not have been sufficiently imbued with Norman notions to adopt Norman methods in constructing his house-place. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to the quotation from *Domesday*, as "halls" are sometimes mentioned as located in places where now no traces of earthworks remain.

As Edwin's story is well known, I need only say that,

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vii, N. S., p. 31.

treacherous to William as he had probably been to Harold, he perished, and his great fee of Laughton passed to Roger de Busli. That astute individual does not seem to have found Laughton to his requirements, and he probably in more modern fashion constructed

TICKHILL,

the fortress which still remains near Bawtry. He does not seem to have emparked any land around it; indeed, an absentee landlord's life was necessary to a man holding a vast number of manors scattered over England and Normandy, and he probably regarded his castle of Tickhill as a necessity for use on occasion only.

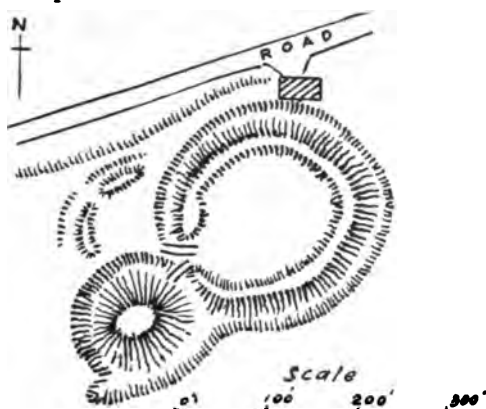
Stone-work of later date has replaced De Busli's wooden walls of Tickhill, and alterations have somewhat obscured the original plan; but enough remains to lead me to think that it, like Conisbrough, is of later date, as well as of more importance, than Laughton and some others, though it retains evidence of its being essentially a "mount and court" fortress. If we touch on the later stone castle of Tickhill, we shall go beyond our subject; but the work of a portion of the gateway is so early, that it seems to date from very soon after De Busli's acquisition of the lordship.

MEXBOROUGH

probably became the head of one portion of De Busli's lordship of Tickhill, as we find there a fine example of the small feudal fortress. Here, as at Laughton, all sign of wooden defence has gone, and no stonework takes its place: thus we have but the great walls and mount of earth to tell any tale. It is so well defined and preserved that one may urge the owner to save it from destruction. It is situated at the Doncaster end of Mexborough, among fields, but the town is growing terribly close to the spot. Not only has this fortress the usual high mount, truncated to afford space for the keep or hall, and moated all round, and the usual base-court with its rampart and fosse, but also a curious little lunette-shaped banked enclosure (as shown on the plan).

It has been suggested that the latter was for the protection of cattle or flocks, but the space is far too circumscribed for this purpose, and I think we have here the remains of a protected entrance-way: a sort of barbican, moated, banked and palisaded, which projected to guard the entrance to the fortress.

There is now no second or outer "bailey," but the field on the west shows traces of a considerable amount of ditching, and some ramparting, which may indicate the existence of a protected court on that side.



MEXBOROUGH CASTLE
YORKSHIRE

BRADFIELD,

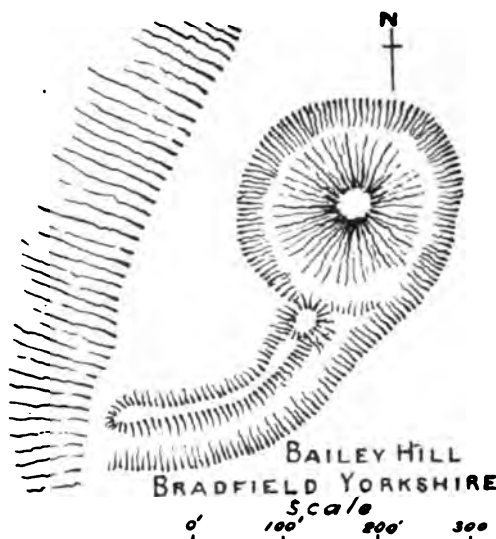
situated amidst what was, till quite recent years, a remote, wild track of country, was another of the small holdings under the great De Busli, and here we find a fortress of the characteristic form; but, unfortunately, less remains to indicate what was the complete scheme of defence.

There is the mighty mount (Mr. Addy says, 58 ft. in perpendicular height), with the platform on the top about 39 ft. across. The mount has a wide fosse around it, which links into the fosse of the attached bailey. Only one arm of the huge bailey rampart remains, stretching out some 310 ft. from the fosse of the mount in the usual manner. What other protection was there to this bailey? Unless some great landslip occurred long since,

carrying away the rampart on the western side, we must conclude that the constructors considered the almost precipitous slope there a sufficient protection, when topped with a strong palisade.

In any case, the bailey would have been unguarded on the north, had there not been a rampart and fosse corresponding to that on the south; but not a trace is left, and the fort now lies open to gently-sloping ground in that direction.

Probably the bank was thrown down, and its fosse therewith filled in the course of agricultural operations.



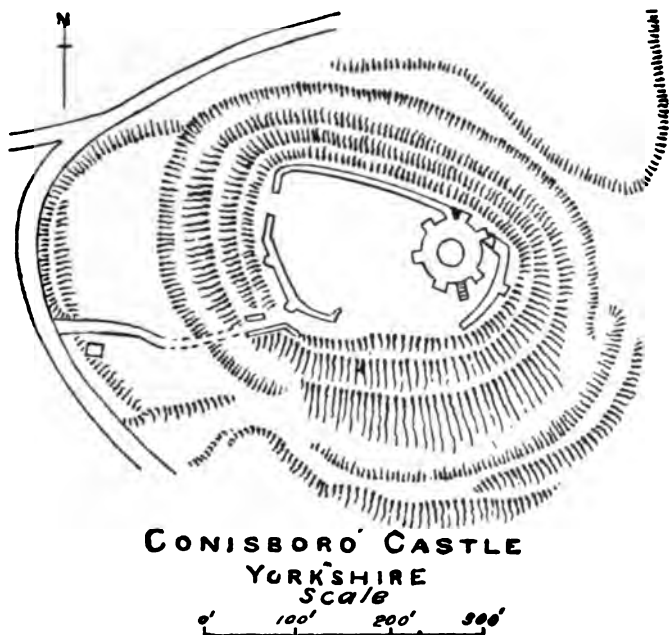
The great mount has been claimed as a Saxon moot-hill, or place of assembly; but I think it simply part of a feudal fortress, either never completed, or partially destroyed as suggested.

It is interesting to note that the place is known to this day as the "Bailey Hill," a term which, derived from the French, suggests Norman associations.

As is so often seen with similar castle-works, the church is near by, though not, in this case, so close as to lead to certainty that it occupies the site of the original building; the present church, mainly of the fourteenth century, is nearly 400 ft. away, and there is no sign of an outer court having extended in that direction.

About a quarter of a mile on the other side of the village is a commanding height, surmounted by what the O. S. denominates a supposed Saxon castle. The site is known as Castle Hill; but I take it that there is nothing more than the faint traces of what may have been a protected watch-tower or lookout, such as would have been a useful adjunct to the main fortress which we have been examining.

We may compare with this a work in a similar position in relation to the fortress at Bakewell, in Derbyshire.



CONISBOROUGH,

with its numerous dependencies belonged, under William, to the great Earl of Warren, who may have done much towards shaping the mount into its present form; but I see no evidence of masonry belonging to that early period. Artificial mounts have to settle down for long years to support such weights, and Conisborough mount appears largely though not wholly artificial.

The whole work, though on the "mount and court" plan, suggests later efforts in castrametation. There was

the main mount, partly a natural hill but scarped and fossed, providing a large area; this was surrounded at first by timber stockading, and later by a shell-keep of stone. Afterwards—about 1150 to 1160—was added the grand keep, with its six buttresses, cutting into, and destroying part of, the first shell-wall. It is no part of my task to describe castles of masonry, or much would have to be said about this, to my mind, the most interesting castle building of Yorkshire.

Those who examine the place with care will see that here, too, was a base-court, or bailey, with its own rampart and outer fosse, the latter much destroyed by the road which follows the line, and occupies the site of the ancient bailey fosse.

In too many instances I have had to appeal for better preservation of these monuments of the past, and even at Conisborough it is to be noted, with deep regret, that the glorious little chapel, with its Late Norman carvings and mouldings, is suffering from careless hands or wanton desecrators.

There remains but one type of earthwork defence to which reference need be made. Throughout England, though more frequently in the lowland districts, are simple moated enclosures, generally without ramparts. The earth dug to form the moat being thrown inwards, the enclosed area is higher than the surrounding land.

Some of our eastern moats are furnished with banks or low ramparts for additional defence, while some of these enclosures are divided and sub-divided into two or more islands by water moats.

Yorkshire has examples of these interesting homestead moats, but it is mainly to the south-eastern counties we look for them; and many there have characteristics which are leading me to think they, in some cases at least, are the sites of the house-places of our Saxon forefathers.¹

¹ It is pleasant to note that, since this Paper was read, the Duke of Norfolk has presented the city of Sheffield with forty-eight acres of land on Wincobank Hill, including the prehistoric fortress; accompanying this noble gift with the request that the ancient fortifications be preserved in accordance with the suggestions of the British Archaeological Association and the Sheffield Free Libraries and Museums Committee.



NOTES ON SHEFFIELD MANOR HOUSE.

By THOMAS WINDER, Esq., Assoc. M. INST. C.E.

(*Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 10th, 1903.*)



SHEFFIELD Manor, the Lodge, the Manor Lodge or Manor Castle (by which latter name it is now locally known) was the country mansion to which the Earls of Shrewsbury retired from time to time, when the sanitary condition of Sheffield Castle became too grave for its continued occupation. Thus the Earl of Shrewsbury writes: "I thought to remove this Queen to my Lodge for five or six days to cleanse her chamber, being kept very uncleanly."

Sheffield Castle was situated at the confluence of the Rivers Sheaf and Don, and extended to Lady's Bridge, and probably included Castle Folds, Exchange Street, and up to Waingate. It is described in the Charter of Henry III, by which Thomas de Furnival was authorised to make a firm and embattled castle, as "his Manor House at Sheffield;" and the buildings now known as "the Manor" are, at a somewhat later date, described as "the Manor Farm."

The Manor House was situated in the centre of Sheffield Park. This park is now partly built over, and the remainder is laid out for agricultural purposes. It was probably a conserve for deer as early as the time of Stephen. When the mansion was deserted, the stock of deer decayed; but even in 1637 there were still one thousand fallow deer and two hundred "deer of antler" in it.

The park was famous for its long, straight avenue of walnut trees, which led from the gate of the park next the town to the principal entrance to the Manor; and for its numerous and immense oak trees.

The blackened trunks of three of the walnut-trees which formed the avenue still stand, and a plan (drawn in 1781 by William Fairbank), which is now in the Duke of Norfolk's Estate Office at Sheffield, shows it as running almost due north and south; and that Queen Mary's Lodge—or the Turret House, as it is marked on this plan—was erected immediately to the westward of this avenue. The fields through which the avenue ran are still known as "Great and Little Walnuts."

The sporting traditions connected with Sheffield Park are still preserved in such names as "Stand House," "Dog-Kennel Lane," and "Park Farm," which latter was formerly the deerkeeper's cottage. The park contained about 2,462 acres. The Manor House is said to have been built by George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, at the beginning of the sixteenth century (probably prior to 1516). It was kept up forty or fifty years after the destruction—during the Civil Wars—of Sheffield Castle, and in 1706 was dismantled by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. After being occupied by his Grace's agents for some time, it gradually degenerated into a number of small cottages. These were destroyed about thirty years ago, and the ruins have rapidly disappeared since that time.

It is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the plan of the original building, but from existing plans and documents the following facts may be gleaned. According to Harrison, "the Manor House was fairly built with stone and timber, with an inward court and an outward court, two gardens and three yards, containing 3 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches."

The plan already referred to shows a large court between the "Turret House" (Queen Mary's Lodge) and the large hall, and the reference on the plan calls this "Great Court, 1a. 0r. 24p." This is, without doubt, Harrison's "Outward Court." Before the erection of "Queen Mary's Tower—described in the reference to Fairbank's plan as "Messuage" (called "the Turret House, with outhouses, fold, garden, lane below it, and the pond, 0a. 3r. 22p."). This court was an almost perfect square of two acres in extent, bounded on the west by the avenue and on the east by the main front of the Manor House.

The main entrance to the "Inner Court" is said to have been situated between two octagonal towers on the western front, where a noble flight of steps led to the door which opened into the Great Gallery. The foundations of one of these towers may be seen to the west of the footpath which intersects the grounds, and the walls of the other one still stand at the north-western angle of the ruins.

We learn from an interesting letter of George Cavenish, the gentleman-usher to Wolsey, that the Lodge contained "a faire gallerye where was in the further end thereof a goodlie tower with lodgings where my Lord was lodged;" and that the "faire gallery" was large enough when divided by a "travers of sarcenett which was drawne across it," to accommodate the Earl of Shrewsbury at the one end and Wolsey at the other end. The position of this screen is possibly marked by the moulded oak corbel which still remains in the chamber of what was afterwards a cottage, and is partly covered by a modern partition. He further says there was a great bay-window in this gallery—probably the one which now stands in the grounds at Queen's Tower. From the same letter we see that there were chambers opening immediately off this gallery. The remains of these are still visible, abutting upon the east side of the angle-tower.

From the eastern or angle-tower the court wall still remains in very fair preservation: it extends about 100 ft. almost due east, and then returns 150 ft. towards the south. From here it was probably turned eastwards about 80 ft., as a small part of this wall, with an arrow-slit therein, is visible amongst the more modern work, and may have been intended to protect the face of the southern wall of the court, which it enfilades. Here it would join a very ancient building of two rooms (now used as a stable) in which are a large fireplace, a simple Tudor window, and outer and inner doorways. The walls of this building are pierced by numerous arrow-slits. The eastern half of it contains two very fine pairs of "crucks" (or earliest local form of roof-principals), and is probably the oldest building in the Manor. It is spoken of by the late Mr. Leader as a barn; but the writer would

suggest that it was, if not erected for defensive purposes at any rate at a later period added to and used for such purposes, and may have been a guard-room. The Manor laithes, or barns, are situated much nearer to Sheffield, at the top of White's Lane. A lane leading to the colliery crosses the ruins at this point, and has obliterated all further traces of buildings to the east.

On the western side of this lane, and contained in the angle formed by it and Manor Lane, there is a group of rooms with very interesting fireplaces, doorways, and windows. The latter have been heavily barred with iron. There are also the massive remains of the large eastern gateway, and a comparatively modern chimney-stack.

The mansion was originally built of local stone, with grit-stone or "moor stone" for some of the fireplaces, quoins, etc., as well as with bricks and very fine half-timber work. The half-timber work displays beautiful mouldings, and is remarkable for the excellent quality of the plaster filling, which has been put upon grey slate, instead of the usual oak-laths or reeds.

It is difficult to ascertain the original elevation of the half-timber front of the Long Gallery, which may have been open below, supported upon an arcade of oak pillars, which pillars still stand upon their square, curiously-chamfered stone bases. It is hoped the present excavations will reveal more of this.

That there was a chapel in the Manor House we know, from the account of the funeral of the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, where it is distinctly said "there was a Chappel in the said Manor," but its position is unknown. The local tradition of the existence of a subterranean passage between the Lodge and Sheffield Castle has been strengthened by the occurrence in this account of the words: "The corse was secretly brought from the said Manor to the Castle," and by the discovery of an underground passage during drainage excavations under Castle Hill, which passage was never explored.

The circumstances which give to the Manor its greatest historical interest are the visit of Wolsey, who arrived there on the 8th November, 1530, and remained sixteen or seventeen days, when on his last and fatal journey

towards London; and the detention of Mary Queen of Scots, in the custody of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, at various times between the 28th November, 1570, and September, 1584. There is a local tradition that the Earl erected a building for the better safe-keeping of his unfortunate prisoner.

In 1577, the Earl wrote to Lord Burghley, saying: "I have sent Greaves a plat of a front of a Lodge that I am now in building which, if it were not for troubling your Lordship, I would wish your advice thereon;" and in 1580 his son, Gilbert, wrote to his father that Queen Elizabeth had been enquiring anxiously as to the safety of his charge: "and I told her what great heed and care you had to her safe-keeping (especially being there)"—that is, at the Manor—"that good number of men, continually armed, watched her day and night, and both under her windows, over her chamber, and of every side her; so that unless she could transform herself to a flea or a mouse it was impossible she could escape."

In 1584, Sadler, writing from Sheffield Lodge, speaks of the "straitness of this and so the stronger" (compared with Wingfield); and says: "I would rather choose to keep this Queen here with sixty men than there with three hundred, of which mind his Lordship is also." These quotations support the tradition that Shrewsbury erected a special building for Queen Mary's use; and about thirty years ago this building was discovered by the late Mr. John Stacey, amongst a block of farm buildings, by which it was hidden. The matter was brought to the notice of the present Duke of Norfolk, who commissioned Messrs. Hadfield and Son to restore it to its original condition. How well they carried out their instructions may be seen in the square, ivy-covered, three-storied building which stands alone in the quadrangle to the west of the ruins. Mr. Charles Hadfield is of opinion the style of the building agrees very nearly with the period in which we now suppose it to have been erected; and certainly it answers very well to Gilbert Talbot's description. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the Earl's selection of the site, as it appears to be outside the defensive works; but even this is

supported by Mary's statement in one of her letters, that the place is not fortified.

The stone coffin outside this small lodge is said to have been found in the walls of Sheffield Castle, and to be that of Thomas de Furnival. The quaint gargoil in Queen Mary's chamber was rescued by Mr. Hodgson, of Stand House Farm. His workmen had found it amongst a lot of loose stones, and were just going to break it up for road-mending! May it not have been fixed at one of the angles of the towers?

It will be gratifying to the members of the Association who recently visited the ruins of the Manor House, to learn that their condition having been brought to the notice of the Duke of Norfolk by his agent, Mr. Henry Coverdale, his Grace has decided on the removal of the modern additions, and the conservation of so much of the ancient buildings as can be preserved. This work is now being carried out under Mr. Coverdale's instructions by the writer, his Grace's local architect and surveyor. The whole of the modern additions are being removed, and where there are gaps in the stone walls they are being built up in brickwork, so that there may be no fear of their being mistaken for old work. In two or three cases, the removal of modern chimney-breasts have disclosed the existence of ancient fireplaces *in situ*, and in one case an ancient doorway and a small window were found behind a chimney-breast.



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AS NECROPOLES DOLMENICAS DE TRAZ-OS-MONTES.



PORTUGUESE PARALLELS TO THE CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.

(Read January 20th, 1904.)

N the fourth *fascicule* of the first volume of *Portugalia*, 1903—the leading Portuguese journal of Archæology—is contained a long account, fully illustrated, of the curious and, in some respects, unique discoveries made by Father José Brenha and Father Rodriguez among the group of dolmens situated at Pouca d'Aguiar, in the province of Traz-os-Montes, Portugal.

The account occupies no less than sixty-four large 4to. pages, and besides numerous drawings and illustrations in the text, there are sixteen pages of plates, containing representations of all the most remarkable “finds.” An account so given merits the earnest attention of the archæological world, and it merits it the more by the manner of its telling. This is as follows: First, there is an introduction of four pages, in which Don Ricardo Severo, the Editor of *Portugalia*, and one of the most learned of Portuguese archæologists, recounts his connection with the discoveries, and describes the *mise-en-scene*; then follows a full, detailed, simple and straightforward narrative of the discoveries by Father Brenha, extending over sixteen pages; and finally Don Severo examines the bearing of the discoveries in all their relationships in a thoroughly painstaking and scientific Paper, which he calls a “Commentary,” and

which fills up the remaining forty-four pages. This "Commentary" is dated March, 1903, and contains, so far, the latest word on the subject.

The question therefore arises: What are these discoveries, which have created such a stir in archæological circles in Portugal, and seem likely to flutter the dovescotes of students of anthropology throughout Europe, even if they do not help to revolutionise the ideas held till now as to the conditions of life among the aboriginal Iberian population of the Peninsula, and, incidentally, as to the culture attained by that race in its migration through Europe in Neolithic times? Father Brenha tells us that his attention was first called to the group of dolmens at Pouca d'Aguiar as far back as 1894, and that he systematically explored them, in company with Father Rodriguez, from that date onwards; while in 1901 Don Severo visited the scene, having observed the notices of them published in 1895 by Father Rodriguez in the *Archeologo Português*; and in the same journal in 1898, by Dr. H. Botelho; and the references to them made by Dr. J. Leité de Vasconcellos in his book on *The Religions of Lusitania*, in 1897, who stated that he considered them "most important."

The whole province of Traz-os-Montes abounds in dolmens, situated for the most part high up in the mountains, the number of them which exist in a relatively small district testifying, in Father Brenha's opinion, to the density of the population, and its long persistence in Neolithic times. As is well known, dolmens are the burial-places of the Neolithic population; they are fashioned after the model of their dwelling-places when alive, and they are found along the whole line of march of the primitive Iberian or Berber race westwards, till on the western shores of Europe and the British Isles their march was perforce stopped, and they had to settle and resist as best they could the pressure of the Celtic peoples from behind. On the plains of Moab, in Asia Minor, in Central Europe, dotting the northern parts of Africa, dolmens are to be seen in more or less abundance; but it is in Cornwall, in Brittany, and here in Portugal that the most numerous and the most interesting are to

be found—the last relics and the final resting-places of this prehistoric race (Plate I).

Of all the dolmens in the province of Traz-os-Montes, which Father Brenha and Father Rodriguez explored, the most important are those of “Châ das Arcas,” not only for the good preservation of the monuments, but for the variety and interest of the funereal furnishing which they met with. Those with which we have to deal consist of a group of ten dolmens, in the district of Villa Pouca, and in the parish of Soutello do Valle. The first seven and the last two contained nothing of importance, nor which need detain us. It is with that which the discoverers distinguished as No. viii that our enquiry has to do. There must have been a gallery of approach, but no stone of it was left. One of the seven large stones of which the chamber was formed had fallen inside, dividing it into two parts, and its position appeared to prove that the chamber had never been filled with earth.

The floor of the chamber was paved, and had been covered with a slight layer of sand, which has been washed away by rain. It was the largest chamber in this group of dolmens. Of the contents, Father Brenha says: “They were of a most extraordinary description, and show that, instead of being a tomb, it was perhaps a temple or covered depository, where the tribe placed and kept secure whatever it respected and adored, or which perpetuated the traditions of its ancestors.”

These contents may be divided under four heads: (1) Amulets of small stones, of various shapes, perforated, some of them having designs of animals and scenes of primitive life, and zoöomorphic stones. (2) Four female busts, or figurines. (3) Several large stones, with animals depicted on them; and (4) a small stone, with characters (?) traced on it, and two large perforated amulets, pointed like scrapers, with inscriptions: one of them “appearing to be the symbol of the sun.”¹

¹ Similar objects, though of less importance, were found in other groups of dolmens in the immediate neighbourhood, including some further examples of stones and amulets inscribed with alphabetiform characters and drawings of animals and zoomorphic stones. Some fragments of pottery were also found in some of the dolmens.

To continue Father Brenha's account: "We met with no object of metal in the dolmens which we explored; and all the objects met with are characteristically and indubitably of the Neolithic age"; and the conclusions which he draws from his investigations are as follows: "That inhumation was practised, and the deposition of small vessels with offerings; that they believed in the future life, in the worship of the dead, the adoration of the sun, and of animals, and the deification of the implements of labour; that writing was known to Neolithic man; that the appearance of coloured objects proves that tattooing was used, as well as other ornaments, whether necklaces or amulets; that they hunted, either for necessity or pleasure, as well as ground corn; that their life was rather agricultural and sedentary than warlike."

With most of these conclusions, except as regards the knowledge of writing, all experts on the subject of Neolithic man will agree, notwithstanding the remarkable character of the "finds" on which they are based in this instance.

It will be observed that although Father Brenha describes minutely the condition of the chamber in the particular dolmen, No. VIII, he says nothing whatever as to its having been broken into at some date unknown. He tells a plain unvarnished tale of the discoveries which he and Father Rodriguez made together; and there is no question but that they are both perfectly honest and truthful in their narration of the facts.

Don Severo's "Commentary" deals with the discoveries on the assumption of the genuineness of the objects found, of which he himself is firmly persuaded; and his Paper is, as I have already remarked, a long and erudite investigation of the significance and of the relationships of the "finds" with what is already known of Neolithic man from previous discoveries. With some portion of his Paper I will deal presently. But there is one locality and one remarkable series of "finds" which he does not refer to, no doubt because the story of it had not reached as far as Portugal; and yet this series of "finds" throws a remarkable light upon these later Portuguese ones, and,

both taken together, mutually support one another, and at the same time throw additional light upon what has been hitherto known of the condition of Neolithic man in Europe.

I refer to the discoveries made by Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly at Dumbouie, Auchentorlie, and Cochno, and in the Dumbuck and Langbank "Crannogs;" and I may say here at once that whatever may be the ultimate verdict of the scientific world as to the value and genuineness of this series of "finds," whether in Portugal or in Scotland, I and many other competent observers are as much persuaded of the perfect honesty and good faith of Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly as Don Severo and Don Leit  de Vasconcellos are of that of Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez.

There is no need for me to explain that it is the mutual light shed upon one another by these remarkably coincident "finds" on the Clydeside and in Portugal, and the light which both together shed upon the religious and magical ideas of Neolithic man, which has induced me to bring this subject again before this Association; and I flatter myself that it will not be unwelcome, for nothing that can by any possibility throw any additional light upon Early Man in Britain, or elsewhere, is alien to its objects. I may, however, explain, in order to make myself perfectly clear, that when I speak of "Neolithic man," I mean "races in the Neolithic stage of culture," whether they belong to what is more specially known as "the Neolithic Age" in Europe (as these Portuguese "finds" occurring in dolmens most probably do), or to a later period, *chronologically*, as the Scotch "finds" most probably do, and as the native races in Africa and Australia do at the present day.

That it is possible for a race to be in the Neolithic stage of culture as regards ideas, while actually in the Iron Age, or whatever the modern Age may be called, as regards the material conditions of life, is proved, for example, by Miss Mary Kingsley's account of the state of things among the West African natives, among whom she travelled and whom she studied. There you may find a chief and his people in possession of modern

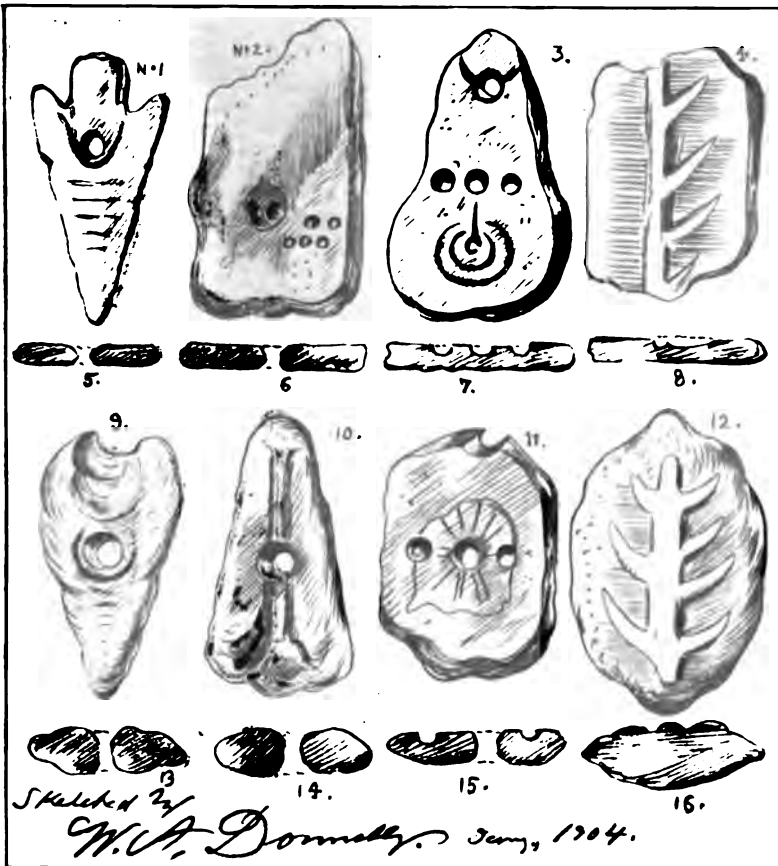
firearms, wearing goods made in Manchester, and trading with the merchants; enjoying, in fact, a considerable degree of material prosperity and civilisation; while, at the same time, as regards magic and religion, you find them steeped in the ideas which have come down to them from their Neolithic ancestors—those ideas, not as with modern European nations, merely as survivals or “superstitions,” but as living, active forces in their daily life.

With this digression, rendered necessary by the number of misrepresentations and misapprehensions which are abroad on the subject, I proceed to the comparisons of the Clydeside and Portuguese “finds.”

It will be noticed that in Portugal nothing is said of any *rock-markings*. On that head I shall therefore add nothing to what I have advanced in previous Papers. But markings of the same character with those engraved on rocks and dolmenic stones in all parts of Europe, and painted on the rocky sides of their secret and sacred hiding-places by the natives of Central Australia, are found on the small stones or amulets both in Scotland and Portugal, *i.e.*, cup- and ring-markings, ducts, and lines, or rays.

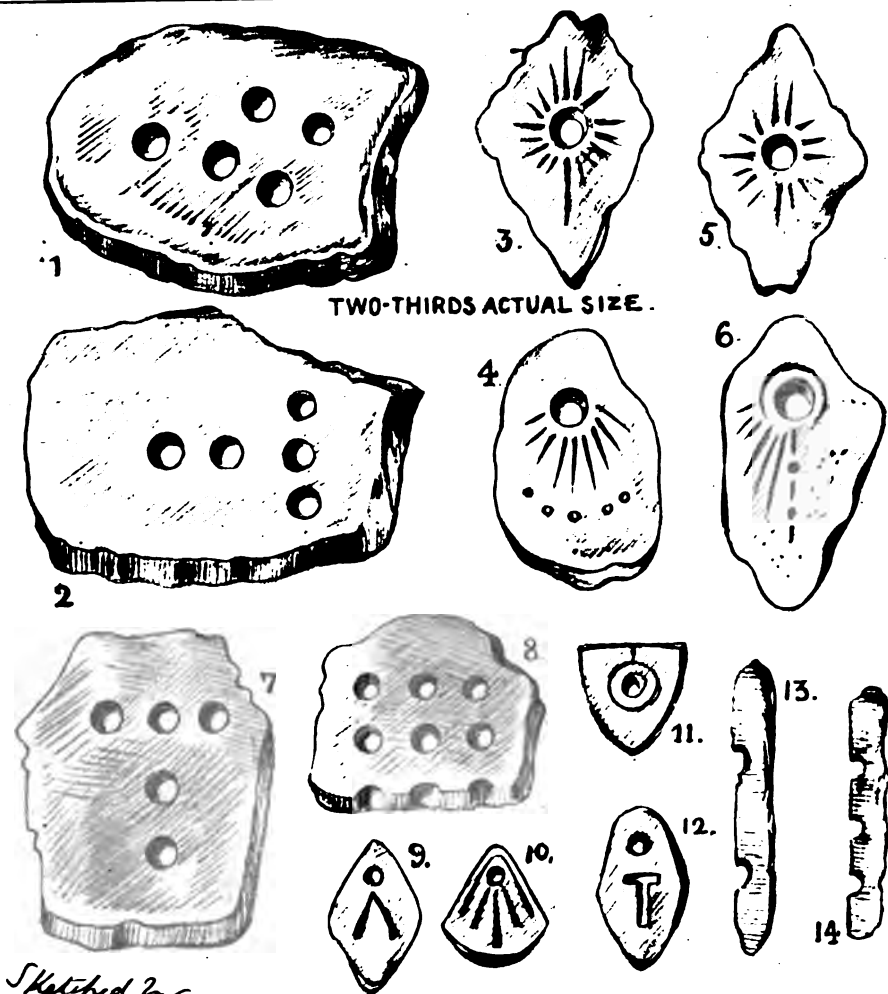
Of the four classes of objects described by Father Brenha, two only, and perhaps a third, correspond with those found on the Clyde, *viz.*: the perforated amulets of various shapes, and the figurines; and possibly one example of a lettered amulet at Langbank. Of the drawings of animals and the zoöomorphic amulets, there is no example from Scotland.

A comparison of the drawings of the two sets of objects (Plates II, III and IV) will demonstrate sufficiently the remarkable resemblance, not to say identity of *motif*, which is to be found in them, and which proves indisputably either that they proceed from peoples in whom the same set of ideas are dominant and vital, or that the same identical modern practical joker or jokers—to use no stronger terms—has had his innings in the Portuguese dolmens and on the Clyde. Whether the latter hypothesis is a likely one will be seen later on. It will be remembered that it is these particular Scotch “finds” of which it has been said that “no place can be



PREHISTORIC MAN ON THE CLYDE.
PARALLELS FROM PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

- Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Finds from Dumbouie and Dumbuck Crannog.
Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12. Portuguese Parallels more recently discovered by Don Ricardo Severo and Rev. Jose Brenha.
Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16. Sections of respective finds.



Sketched by
W.A. Donnelly Jan 1904..

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT DUMBUCK AND DUMBOUIE.
REMARKABLE CORROBORATIVE PARALLELS FOUND IN PORTUGAL.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Portuguese cup-marked stone. | 7. Dumbouie cup-marked stone. |
| 2. Dumbouie cup-marked stone. | 8. Portuguese cup-marked stone. |
| 3. Portuguese cup- and ray-marked stone. | 9. Portuguese alphabetiform amulet. |
| 4. Dumbuck Crannog cup- and-ray stone amulet. | 10. Clydeside amulet. |
| 5. Portuguese ray markings. | 11. Clydeside amulet. |
| 6. Dumbuck Crannog ray markings. | 12. Portuguese carved amulet. |
| 13. Section of No. 1. | 14. Section of No. 8. |

found for them in any known phase of prehistoric Scottish archæology;" and a demand was made that if they were held to be genuine relics of prehistoric times, European parallels should be produced to substantiate the claim.

In former Papers¹ I showed that this could easily be done, and I referred to the parallels which have been found and described by the Hon. John Abercromby in Russian Finland, and which are described by Dr. Hoernes as having been found in many parts of Central Europe. Reference may also be made to the similar objects found and described by Herr Klebs in Eastern Prussia.

Now Father Brenha comes forward with his account of the "finds" which he and Father Rodriguez have made in Portugal, all of which he claims as being Neolithic, and among which he states that, as in the case of the Scotch "finds," not one particle of metal was found."

The greater part of Don Severo's "Commentary" is taken up with proving, on similar lines to those which I have followed here and in the Papers already referred to, that the claim that these "finds" are Neolithic is not only probable but possible; and that in them a new and most important light is thrown upon the social and religious ideas of the Neolithic race in Europe.

In *l'Anthropologie* for 1895-1896, M. Salomon Reinach, the well-known French savant, described and figured many similar Neolithic parallels; and M. Cartailhac, whose authority is undoubted on prehistoric times in France, Spain, and Portugal, has done the same in his monumental works on the subject. It is noteworthy also that M. Cartailhac recently expressed the opinion that new and unexpected "finds" were to be looked for from Portugal.

As regards the amulets with incised or inscribed cups, dots, rings and lines, these are now well known to be among the commonest and most ordinary *trouvailles* on Neolithic sites, and against these by themselves there is nothing advanced by any student of the period. I will

¹ *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, N. S., vol. vi, pp. 164-188; vol. vii, pp. 229-257; vol. ix, pp. 59-64.

not, therefore, take up time by adverting further to these.

As regards the "figurines," which some of our opponents contemptuously speak of as "dollies," there is more to be said; and, moreover, I shall show that what is intended in certain quarters as a name of scorn is in reality a name of honour, and has much to tell of deep anthropological interest.

I need not refer further to the figurines of a precisely similar nature to those found at Dumbuck and Pouca d'Aguiar, which the Hon. Jn. Abercromby describes and illustrates in *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*. Similar objects are now also among the recognised *trouvailles* from Neolithic sites. In Dr. Hoernes's *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, many are drawn and described, e.g., several from Jassy in Roumania, and from Collorgues in France, and elsewhere. In the *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, Dr. Munro figures and describes several from the Neolithic lake-dwelling at Laibach, and from the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bourget. Of these he says: "The clay images of animals found on several stations in different parts of the lake-dwelling area, as well as those of the *terremare*, and more especially the human images from Laibach, are *probably idols*. Along with four clay figures from the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bourget, I represent two of bronze, which I noticed in a collection from Bodmann in the Steinhaus Museum at Überlingen. One of them was *evidently used as a pendant*, and the other appears to have been intended for a human being. The clay figures from Laibach, though fragmentary, are undoubtedly representations of the human body" (*op cit.*, pp. 173, 532, 533).

It is instructive in this connection to call to mind the scorn which was poured upon Dr. Schliemann, the unlettered grocer's apprentice, by M. de Mortillet, the greatest living *savant* and archæologist of the day in France, when he announced his discoveries of what he called "the owl-headed idols from the site of Troy," which really were primitive figurines of women with no mouths: a type now known to be very common in early art, from the caves of Australia to the illuminations in the



NO 2.



NO 3.



SHALE FIGURINES FROM DUMBUCK CRANNOG.



PORTUGALIAN. STONE PARALLELS. FROM DOLMEN DE TRAZ-OS-MONTES.

Drawn by, *W. A. Dornmeyer* Jan 1904,
Arthur Smith Bowdler, N. G.

Celtic Book of Deer. M. de Mortillet said that "every excavator must be struck with the impossibilities of the narrative." Mr. Newton, however, of the British Museum, at once ranged himself on the Doctor's side, saying: "From the day I first saw the photographs of Dr. Schliemann's antiquities, and read his narrative, I entertained no doubt whatever as to the genuineness of the objects found; nor did his account of the mode of his discovery suggest to me any doubt as to the truth of his statements." Time has fought on Dr. Schliemann's side, and triumphantly vindicated the *bona fides* of his discoveries, and I look for a similar vindication in the present instance.

Place the figurines from Laibach, from the dolmens, from Scotland, from Finnish Russia, from Troy, from Jassy, from Collorgues, from the Bukowina, from Australia, from a prehistoric Egyptian stone cylinder, together, and their family likeness is at once discovered. No doubt, as Dr. Munro says, they were *idols*. And what is that but "dollies"? Just as we learn from embryology that every human being ere it comes to the birth runs through the whole gamut of creation, and epitomises in itself the evolution of living things from the primordial cell to man, so each individual human being, we learn from anthropology, epitomises in himself or herself the evolution of the race from savagery through barbarism to civilisation. In the present day, and through the early period at which education commences, this evolution is more rapidly accomplished than it was in former times; but even now there is a period in the history of every child when it is in the Neolithic stage of culture, and at that stage every object that it comes in contact with is thought of as alive. It is the age of fairy-tale and folk-lore. The child talks to the trees and to the flowers, to beasts and birds and insects, to chairs and tables, to its toys, and it hugs its "dollies" to its breast, idolises them, caresses them, cajoles them, scolds them; it thinks of itself as sharing a common and an interchangeable life with them, and ideas of metempsychosis and transformation are at the foundation of its belief.

What is all this but just man in the Neolithic stage of

culture, whether in primeval Europe and Asia and Africa, or among primitive savage races, such as the South Sea Islanders, the native tribes of Central Australia, and many African nations down to the present day?

In the Appendix to *Prehistoric Times*, Lord Avebury gives a short statement of his views as to the order and progress of religious ideas in the human race. He describes the first stage as being presented by the Australians, "who believe in the existence of mysterious beings." His second stage is fetichism. Then follows what may be described—as he enunciates the idea—as a sort of blending of polytheism with animism, along with which is found totemism. Finally, there is anthropomorphism and idolatry, due to the increasing power of chiefs and priests. I cannot hold with this order, for on the question of the growth of religious ideas I agree with Dr. Tylor:—

"The main issue of the problem is this: whether savage animism is a primary formation belonging to the lower culture, or whether it consists mostly or entirely of beliefs originating in some higher culture, and conveyed by adoption or degradation into the lower. Savage animism, both by what it has and by what it wants, seems to represent the earlier system in which began the age-long course of the education of the world. Thus it is that savage religion can frequently explain doctrines and rites of civilised religion. This is a state of things which appears to carry an historical as well as a practical meaning. The degradation theory"

(universally held until the researches of Darwin, Spencer, Tylor, and a host of other observers showed its inability to explain the *facts* of anthropology and ethnology)

"would expect savages to hold beliefs and customs intelligible as broken-down relics of former higher civilisation. The development theory would expect civilised man to keep up beliefs and customs which have their reasonable meaning in less cultured states of society. So far as the study of survival enables us to judge between the two theories, it is seen that what is intelligible religion in the lower culture is often meaningless superstition in the higher, and thus the development theory has the upper hand.

"Moreover, this evidence fits with the teaching of prehistoric archæology. Savage life, carrying on into our own day the life of the Stone Age, may be legitimately claimed as representing

remotely ancient conditions of mankind, intellectual and moral, as well as material. If so, a low but progressive state of animistic religion occupies a like ground in savage and in primitive culture" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 356-58).

First, therefore, in the order of religious ideas, comes animism, when all Nature is thought of as alive, and each object has its own inherent life-spirit or soul, and all are interchangeable. At this stage, also, Totemism is the rule of family and tribal society. This is the condition of the Australians and of the Neolithic races. The "mysterious beings" worshipped by the former were their Alcheringa ancestors. Then follows Fetishism, with the perfecting of magic and religion, as previously defined.¹ To this succeed polytheism and idolatry; but each succeeding stage carries with it the ideas of its predecessor, down even to the present day, among the most civilised races. As Lord Avebury says: "Bygone beliefs linger on among children and the ignorant." This needs no showing, having been so fully elucidated by Dr. Tylor and subsequent writers on the subject.

M. Cartailhac wrote a learned article in *L'Anthropologie* (vol. v, pp. 145f.), entitled: "La Divinité Feminine et les Sculptures de l'Allée Couverte d'Epone, Seine et Oise," in which he argues that the female figures sculptured on the rocks in that gallery represent goddesses, and belong to the Neolithic Age. The style is exactly similar to those I have already shown; and if such figures sculptured on slabs of stone represent a Gallic female divinity, *à fortiori*, the figurines of the same character represent divinities. On this point, however, Dr. Hoernes says: "Cartailhac drew inferences too rapidly formed, too far-reaching, and too vague, as to the female divinity of Gaul; after alluding to the stone-arrows provided with female breasts of Sardinia, and the Trojan face-vases;" and this criticism seems justified, for what M. Cartailhac says is: "The sculptured figures declare the intellectual unity of Gaul, even of a great part of Europe, at this distant period, which is the end of the Stone Age and the commencement of the Bronze; the dawn of history, thanks to rays caught from Egypt,

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, N. S., vol. vii, pp. 231-235.

from Troy (?), and from Greece. They will, perhaps, reveal to us the Celtic Fatherland."¹ This may be and perhaps is far-fetched and fanciful; but that the sculptured figures and figurines represent goddesses (not a goddess) of a sort (idols, "dollies"), and that they belong to the Neolithic Age, may be taken as established.

I have not referred to the sculptures on the Kivik monument and others in Sweden, because, although Brunius held that they were Neolithic,² yet they are in a much more finished style, and have even been placed in the Late-Northern Iron Age, from the sixth to the ninth century A.D. Montelius³ holds that they belong to the Bronze Age, and that they are pictographs; for, according to this writer, "writing was unknown in the Bronze Age" (much more was this true of the Stone Age); and these carvings represent the deeds of warriors, expeditions by sea, etc., which would have a meaning for the people, and serve to preserve alive the memory of exciting and notable events.

This pictographic writing, or tracing, unites itself with the earliest attempts at hieroglyphic writing in Egypt, but at a distance of millennia apart.

As a matter of fact, taking all these "finds" in their totality, it needs only an open mind, and one not filled with preconceived prejudices as to what *must be*—it needs, that is to say, an observer capable of paying due account to all the facts, who, therefore, is not willing to close his eyes to any because they do not happen to fit in with previous theories formed on insufficient *data*—to see in them the opening of a new chapter in our knowledge of the condition of things among the Neolithic population of Europe: new, but on the lines of previous research. Of course, the mere fact that certain "finds" in certain places, such as those described by Herr Klebs, Dr. Hoernes, M. Reinach, Dr. Munro, and M. Cartailhac, are held on the unimpeachable authority of these great men to be genuine and authentic, does not prove that other "finds," which have been impugned in certain quarters, are genuine; but it makes the probability that

¹ Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, p. 377.

³ *Civilization of Sweden in* *Heathen Times*, pp. 73, 77.

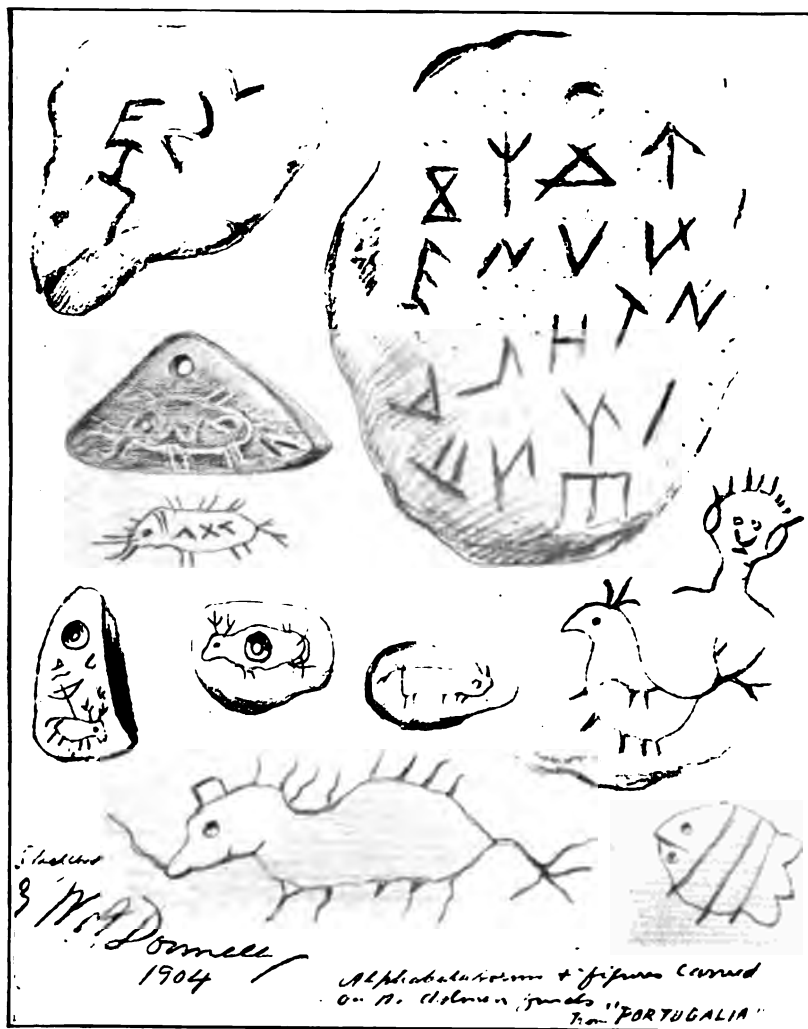
they are so all the greater, and it makes the probability of forgery all the more difficult, and throws the onus of proving forgery on those who make the accusation. We shall see how difficult it is to entertain the idea of forgery in the sequel.

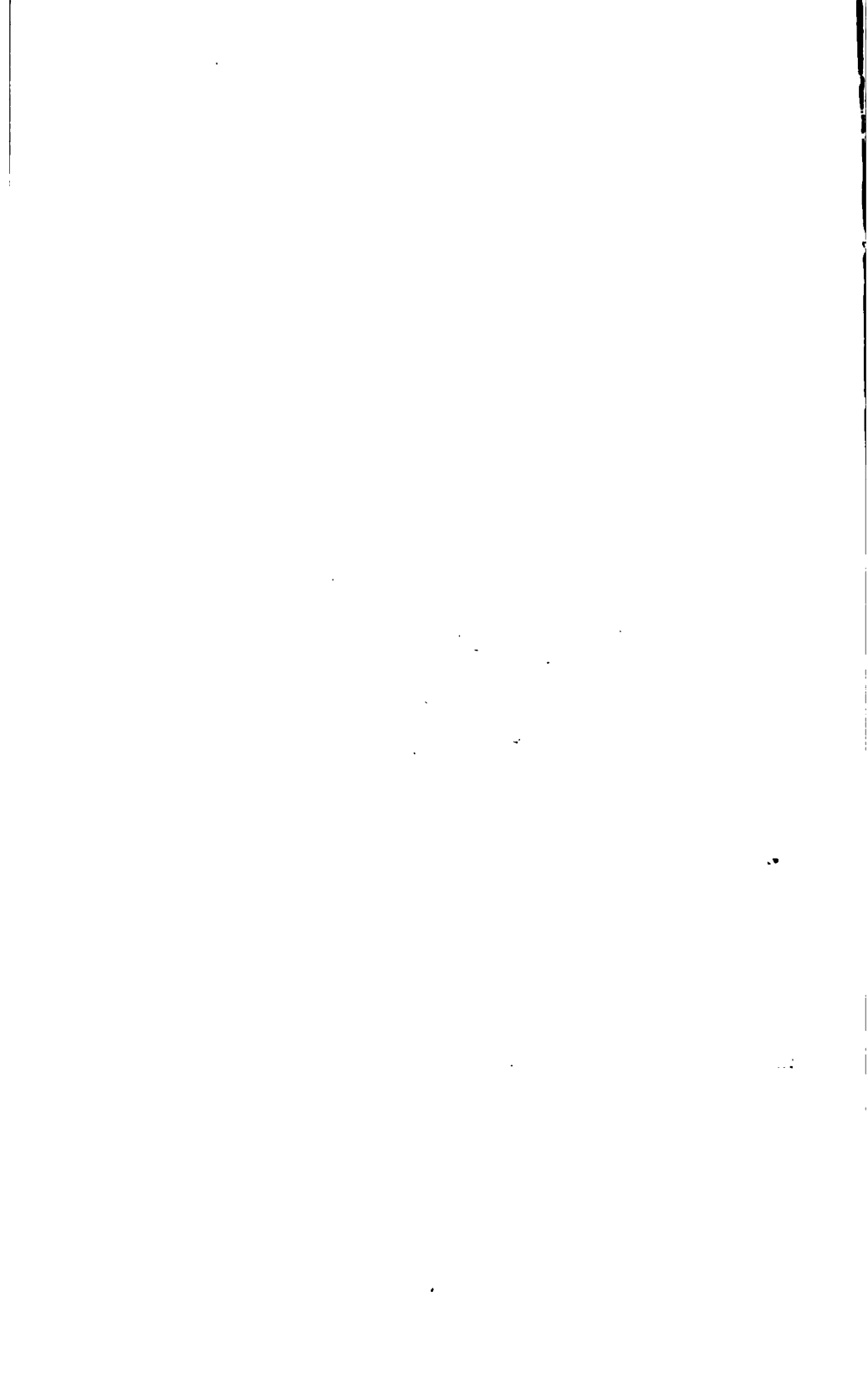
The superabundant evidence which I have adduced may, therefore, be taken to prove that amulets and figurines, such as have been found in Portugal and on the Clyde, are, so far from being unusual or not to be expected, among the normal relics of the Neolithic Age, or of peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture; and are either themselves evidences of a Totemistic condition of social life, or relics of the time when Totemism was a vital force in the organisation of the tribe. It will have been observed that Father Brenha speaks of the chamber in the dolmen in which his "finds" were discovered as being evidently "a temple or sacrarium in which the tribe deposited and kept safe whatever it revered or adored." I do not suppose that the good Father had ever heard of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,¹ but he could not have better described the *ernatlunga*, or sacred depository of the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, in which are placed the *Churinga* which determine the tribe's Totemistic relationships, and the descent of the different totem groups: the Witchetty grub, the Plum-tree, the Kangaroo, etc., from their divinised Alcheringa ancestors. The order of ideas is the same, although the knowledge and practice of agriculture and the possession of settled abodes raised Neolithic man in Europe to a much higher plane of culture than has ever been attained by the savage nomads of Central Australia. Just as in the case of the *Churinga*, the amulets in Portugal and in Scotland, with their inscribed lines, circles, and dots, bespeak, in all probability, totemistic inter-tribal and family relationships; and may, without inappropriateness, be described as the heraldry of early man. As in the Middle Ages the blazoned shield proclaimed the chief to all his followers, so the incised amulet marked the position in the tribe of its possessor.

¹ *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 133-135.

It appears to me that the *inscribed* amulets and stones, *i.e.*, those bearing marks which have a distinct resemblance to alphabetiform characters, must be of the same nature: unless we hold, with Father Brenha, that "writing was known in the Neolithic age." Don Severo discusses this question with a wealth of illustration that is most admirable and suggestive, and devotes many pages to showing the resemblance of the characters to well-known scripts, more especially the Cretan script, discovered by Mr. A. J. Evans in the course of his explorations at Knossos. It is possible that this may be the explanation, and that we have in these inscribed stones and amulets evidence of a widespread commercial intercourse among the Mediterranean peoples. But if so, the argument would carry us too far, for, as is well known, inscribed pebbles belonging to the Palæolithic Age have been found, and similar inscribed amulets belonging to a later age have been discovered in Scotland and Ireland, and such signs are to-day among the tattoo-marks of the Motu Motu, a savage people in the South Seas. The simple explanation is, therefore, the one which I suggest, *viz.*, that these signs are not true letters, but merely, like the dots and lines and circles, first, signs of ownership, and next, totemistic signs understood by the tribe. This seems the more likely, as otherwise we should have to imagine that Palæolithic Man was acquainted with the Roman alphabet! It is to be noted, however, that as long ago as 1891, the late learned Don da Veiga published what he regarded as positive proof that the Peninsula possessed a written language before the end of the Stone Age; so that Father Brenha had good authority for his statement (Plate V).

I need not explain that the Palæolithic "finds" to which I refer are those from Mas d'Azil, in the Department of the Ariège, France, which were discovered by M. Piette in 1896. On these pebbles signs resembling the following, among other characters, were inscribed: F E I O L. They were found in the deposit between the Reindeer period and the earliest Neolithic remains; and with them were also found several harpoons of





bone, perforated, evidently to receive the cord which the harpoonist retained when the harpoon was flung. These characters can hardly be letters; and it has been suggested that the pebbles were used in some game in which the characters had a meaning. I think it more probable that they had a serious significance.

It has been said that alphabetiform characters inscribed on amulets are new and unheard-of as relics of Early man. That this is not the case is proved by the fact that in the Museum at Edinburgh there is to be seen an amulet from a broch at Keiss, in Caithness, which is inscribed on both sides with characters that have been supposed to resemble runes, but no Runic scholar has been able to decipher them. The genuineness of this amulet is undisputed.

(To be continued).





THE CHISLEHURST CAVES AND DENE-HOLES.

(SECOND PAPER.)

By W. J. NICHOLS, Esq., V.-P.

(Read February 17th, 1904.)



C the early history of Chislehurst Manor we have but slight information.¹ There is in existence a charter of King Eadgar, dated 974, which contains a reference to "the King's boundary that is in Cyslehurst," and implies that the Chislehurst manorial lands were at that time in the hands of King Eadgar. King Edward the Confessor held the manor, and the Domesday Commissioners state that it was then (in 1086) still *terra regis*, and in the possession of King William. It was held directly by Kings Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II.

From the Plantagenets it passed to, the house of Beaufort, and later to that of Neville, the reversion being held at the latter end of the fifteenth century by Henry VII. In 1611, James I sold the reversion to

¹ There was a settlement in the Cray Valley, A.D. 862, in which year King Æthelbert granted ten carucates of land in Bromleah to his minister Dryghtwald, one of the boundaries being, "then from the Swallow, the Cray settlers dwelling, to the gibbet mark."

This Swallow, also known as "Swellinde Pette," is mentioned in later deeds, and is referred to by the late Mr. R. B. Lister in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. 1, p. 141.

There can be little doubt that this Swallow is identical with the great natural hollow in Denbridge Wood, which, commencing at the Common, ran through the dene above the caves, and near to the present entrance to them, and at intervals discharged its flood waters into the more remote galleries, where, at certain points, the water has, at times, risen to 4 ft. above the flooring.

George and Thomas Whitmore, of London, who in the same year sold the property to the fourth Sir Thomas Walsingham, of Scadbury, "to be held of our Lord the King by fealty alone in free and common socage."

About the time of the Restoration, Sir Thomas's son and successor, the fifth Sir Thomas Walsingham, sold Chislehurst, together with the manor of Scadbury, to Sir Richard Bettenson, from whom it has descended to the Townshend family, and so to the present owner, the Hon. Robert Marsham-Townshend, nephew of the late Earl Sidney.¹

There is little doubt that "Wellwood" and "Denbridge Wood" originally formed a portion of this manor, and that the boundary line was the Kyd Brook, which now divides the parish from Bromley;² but this portion at the commencement of the nineteenth century came into the possession of a Mr. Baskcomb, whose descendants sold it about the year 1870, and the property has since been covered with cottages and villa residences, excepting some few acres of woodland held by the trustees of the late Mr. George Wythes, who purchased them about the same time as he obtained the adjoining property, Bickley Park.

The modern entrance to the Chislehurst Caves is in this piece of woodland; but the galleries extend long distances under the hill and Common, access to the remote parts being cut off, except at one point, by the falling in of the excavations, or by their filling-in during the course of road-making and building operations on the surface. Mr. Baskcomb had an entrance to the middle series of galleries by a slope drift from his garden, constructed at considerable cost: this entrance still exists, but is now blocked up. His property boundary was also defined by a brick walling, which may be seen in the caves at the present time; but a doorway has recently been inserted, which gives access to the older galleries.

Since my first Paper on these caves appeared in print,

¹ Webb.

² Kyd Brook, a corruption of Kêd, or Ceridwen, the Arkite goddess or Ceres of the Britons. Running streams were the objects of superstitious reverence among the Celtic races, and this stream ran through the centre of the ancient camp, alluded to in a former Paper.

a further study of them has been made, together with a survey by experienced mining engineers (see accompanying Plan); and the results go a long way towards proving that these chalk galleries have been the work of successive ages. The earliest are those which, by way of distinction from the outer and inner series of workings, are now known as the middle series; and as these are immediately connected with the dene-holes, they are doubtless of Celtic origin, and bear the impress of a people well advanced in art. That they are not merely galleries formed for the purpose of obtaining chalk and flints must be apparent to any visitor who will devote a few minutes to their examination; they are regularly formed, symmetrical, and in many places very beautiful in their curved and well-proportioned outlines. The finishing work, too, has been executed with a due regard to evenness, particularly in the dressing of the lower walling, which has been done with a finely-pointed wrought-iron pick, with a slightly curved angular blade. Age, too, has improved them by removing the asperities; or, in other words, Old Father Time has planed down the irregularities, leaving the surface softened to the eye, so that at the distance of a few yards it appears not unlike marble. It is noticeable that in a few places—not many—flints project from the walls; but these have only been left where it would have been difficult to break or remove them without defacing the general regularity of the work.

The width of these galleries varies, but may be taken as 9 ft., narrowing so considerably towards the roof as to give them the appearance of an arcade; there is, however, a roofing of some 3 ft., formed by the under-side of a horizontal stratum of chalk, which is fairly regular throughout. The flooring is remarkably level: it is of chalk-breccia, without any admixture, and might be natural or artificial, but is probably the latter: the small chalk of excavation making a soft macadam easily levelled, and remaining true in the absence of much use of the caves, whilst equally absorbent of flood-waters with the solid chalk. There would be a grouting of sand super-added from time to time through the dene-holes, and

*Middle Series.
(Hypogeal)*



Inner Series.



this would be levelled by the temporary flooding; the general freedom of the water from clayey matter would preclude any visible stain on the chalk walls.

The chamber alcoves, or altar recesses—all more or less of beehive shape—are about the same width and height as the galleries, but vary a little in their depth: they are at irregular distances apart, as will be seen from the Plan; but doubtless they have a meaning in connection with the wonderful labyrinth of which they form a part. It will be noticed also that in our progress through the galleries—i.e., passing from left to right—these recesses are all on our left, and none whatever to the right hand, which is covered by the numerous galleries of the labyrinth, and which must in its entirety have been the true labyrinth as known to an ancient people. There is little doubt that these galleries were constructed not only for religious purposes, but were utilised to store grain and other valuable productions needed by a numerous population. These hypogeal works are so extensive, that temple, seminary, storehouse, and refuge, each to a certain extent distinct from the other, may at one and the same time have been included in them. At the eastern end are seen the finely-worked passages leading to the many altar-recesses and alcoves, from the 80-ft. shaft, which apparently has been the principal entrance to this portion of the caves; while on the western side are eight chambers, the use of which, in the present state of our knowledge, it is somewhat difficult to determine.

One thing of importance, however, has been proved by the plan, viz., that most of the principal passages of the great labyrinth converge at the well-chamber, showing that the excavations were, as a whole, the work of competent men, and carried out on a systematically-conceived plan. That no "finds" of any kind have been made in this place need not cause surprise, when it is borne in mind that successive clearings of this portion of the caves have been made during the last fifty years by the late owner, Mr. Baskcomb, and others, who at intervals had them lighted up and invited friends to visit them: not one of whom appears to have had any knowledge of their

archæological importance. Previous to these visits, this portion of the workings must have been blocked up, perhaps for many centuries, or secretly entered by some small aperture, since blocked also; otherwise it would be difficult to account for their present remarkable state of preservation, although the superstition of many generations may have contributed to that end. That they have been used for religious purposes there is little doubt; the religious services of the Druids were mostly processional, and the outer galleries surrounding the labyrinth may have formed an ambulatory to be used in connection with this feature of their ritual. That no early markings occur on the walling, other than those made by the pick, is only to be expected, since, after the consecration of a place for such purposes, no one would have ventured to commit an act which their creed and religious customs would have accounted sacrilege.

The only people who visited this portion of the temple or seminary were the Druids and their pupils or students, who were a numerous body; their religious teaching was oral, but the civil code and the sciences were taught by word of mouth or in writing, indifferently. It was this oral teaching that has left us with so little knowledge of these people, whose strength lay in secrecy and mystery. However, theirs was undoubtedly a great religion; there is little doubt that it formed the primitive religion of mankind, and at one period covered—either directly or by its influence—the whole surface of the ancient world: its great seats of learning being established in Britain. Abaris, a British Druid, formed a school at Athens, Pythagoras a more important one in Italy: their great belief was in the transmigration of souls, their pre-existence and immortality, and the true theory of the heavenly bodies. Carnac in Brittany, Karnac in Egypt, and other places of the like character, derive their origin from the religion which had its head-quarters in Britain. South of the Tweed, in the Late-Celtic age, there were about forty tribes, occupying as many districts, which correspond approximately to our present counties, each community having its own temple and seminary; and here their religious rites were performed, and the in-

struction of students was carried on. These students were numerous, among them being many of the younger nobility of Britain and Gaul, and they all learnt under a strict rule, which inflicted severe punishment on those who were neglectful of their duties.

It has been observed by the historian Hume, that "no religion has ever swayed the minds of men like the Druidic." The determined efforts of the Roman Empire to overthrow its supremacy, and if possible to suppress it altogether, prove that the rulers of the world had been made practically aware of its influence. A Druidic Triad, familiar to the Greeks and Romans, was: "Three duties of every man—worship God; be just to all men; die for your country." It was this last duty, impressed by a thousand precepts and examples, and not its religious tenets or philosophy, which caused Druidism to be marked out for destruction by an empire which aspired to universal dominion, and aimed at merging all nationalities in one state. The edicts of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius proscribed Druidism throughout their dominions, and made the exercise of the functions of a Druidic priest a treasonable offence, as those of a Roman priest were made in the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns of England. But nations cannot be proscribed. The Druidic colleges in Britain, the only free state in Europe at this period, continued to educate and send forth their *alumni* to all parts of the Continent. Not till A.D. 43 did the second or Claudian invasion of Britain take place. It took ten years of incessant warfare to establish the Roman power on a firm footing in the south of the island; nor was it till seven years after the fall of Caractacus that the Roman State ventured to give its legions orders to carry out the leading object of the invasion: the destruction by force of arms of the Druidic *cori* or seminaries in Britain. The Boadicean war, and the death of eighty thousand Roman citizens, were the first results of these religious dragonnades.¹

Can it then be a matter of astonishment that a people like the Druids sought the recesses of the forest or underground passages as places of security, whether for religious

¹ Morgan.

teaching, or as a refuge from an implacable foe? Many of the early writers, including Pomponius Mela, allude to the Druids as imparting their doctrines to their disciples in secluded *caves* or forests. The peculiar position of the Cantii of this district, here surrounded by other tribes of certainly not a peaceful character, and in addition exposed to the risk of foreign invasion, made such a measure of precaution imperative: hence the great work of these people, as exhibited by these hypogeal passages and chambers, which even to this day extend over so large an area below the surface of Chislehurst.

In the outer series of galleries, which are probably Roman, it will be observed that the passages run in straight lines and at right angles, and are wider and less carefully finished than those of the middle series already adverted to. The walls, however, are not in the same condition as when they were originally formed. A later people, perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, have cut and hacked into them as far as the pick would reach, until in most places all semblance of their original form has been lost; they evidently found it easier and more convenient to obtain flints from these walls, rather than by opening fresh quarries. These galleries were originally about 16 ft. high, but there is now 4 ft. of sand (which for centuries has been washed down the shafts by floods) covering a well-levelled flooring of chalk-breccia. If any important "finds" are ever made, they will probably occur on this flooring; but it would be a huge undertaking to remove this great body of sand for such a purpose, even if permission were obtained and the necessary means forthcoming.

In this portion of the caves will be plainly seen the manner in which these galleries have been run through in straight lines in order to intersect the dene-hole chambers, the latter being lower in the vaulting than the former. Some of these chambers are in a good state of preservation, while others have but a segment left to show their original position. The shafts adjoining them have been filled with surface gravel and sand; but owing to the action of flood-waters these deposits are gradually sinking, and in consequence the natural filling of the galleries

here is only a matter of time. There is in this division of the caves a double dene-hole chamber, the only one yet discovered here ; and close at hand is a hiding-place in the roof, of which the entrance walling of chalk shows unmistakeable signs of wear, caused by the occupation of the place from time to time by human beings.

South of the centre shaft, in the middle or more ancient workings, are numerous galleries which, being choked up with sand, have in recent years been walled off. An aperture has been made in one of the walls and the sand partly removed, in order to give access to the more remote and less explored galleries, which appear to be of vast extent, taking a course to the east and south-east of those already described. A portion of these workings has been surveyed, and a few days given to their exploration and study may ensure results in this direction, which would be of permanent value in themselves, and might serve as a basis for the exploration of parts hitherto unexamined ; but it is doubtful whether in the district lying to the south of the workings shown on the Plan, the air is sufficiently pure to make an extension of the survey practicable. At present it is only possible to state that enormous quantities of chalk and flints have at some remote period been removed from these galleries : as regards the latter material, there are still heaps of flints lying in various directions, and broken to a size convenient for the "knapper" to fashion them for the firearms which were in use a century ago. An examination of these heaps shows that they have been left undisturbed since they were placed here : a sudden abandonment of the place having apparently occurred.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the more ancient workings are in the vicinity of the two shafts shown on the Plan, and that they are of a very different character to the outer and inner series of excavations. There appears to be no doubt that the chalk from these workings was taken to the surface by means of these two shafts, and that it formed a huge rampart or vallum to the north and north-east of the camp already referred to, these being the weakest sides. A protection of this

character would not be lost sight of by a people whose knowledge of castrametation was certainly not inferior to that of the Romans.

But with the final discomfiture and overthrow of the Britons, the civilising power of a great people was brought to bear upon the country, and works of national utility were speedily set on foot. Let us consider for a few moments what London was at an early period of its history. The Wallbrook, which entered the Thames at Dowgate, separated two pieces of hilly ground, one on its eastern and the other on its western bank: on both banks was the rising city of Augusta, and at that time the only means of traffic and transport to and from Augusta was by water. To the west was swamp, to the north swamp and fen, backed by the impenetrable forest of Middlesex; to the east swamps and the river, which at high water formed an inland sea, bounded on the north by the Essex and on the south by the Kent and Surrey hills.

At this early period was commenced the south embankment of the river—the “wark” or “werke” which has left its name to the present borough of Southwark. The great lake of Augusta, bounded by the higher lands of Camberwell, Brixton, and Clapham, was being drained, and across the marshes ran the raised causeways of the Watling Street, from Deptford (the deep ford), and the Stane Street from Regnum (Chichester); a branch of the former left the Old Kent Road, and by way of Kent Street joined the Stane Street near Stone’s End and St. Margaret’s Hill, where a Roman settlement was being formed, its objective being the *trajectus* or ferry to Dowgate, by way of Stoney Street. Everything in the way of food or material had to reach the City by water communication, the former for the most part coming from the upper Thames Valley and the Essex uplands. But the rapid growth of an important city needed also an enormous quantity of material such as timber, stone, flint, chalk, etc., the last being required to an immense amount for conversion into lime, cement, or mortar, as well as for the foundations of important roads and buildings. The great public works generally, and those of a munici-

pality in particular, such as forts, river-embankments, bridges, and circumvallation, gave forced employment to thousands of Roman soldiers and enslaved Britons; and during a period of some two or three centuries, material for constructive purposes was being used as fast as water and (later) land transport could provide it. The city wall¹ alone, nearly three miles long, 20 ft. high, and 8 ft. to 9 ft. in width, must have taken little short of one hundred thousand loads, or yards, of material in its construction.

Where was all this material to come from? Chalk and flints were obtainable from the Lower Thames; but the navigation of, say, thirty miles of a tidal river, then only partly embanked, was at this period both difficult and dangerous for heavily-laden barges, though considerable quantities may have safely reached the two ports of Queenhithe and Billingsgate from this distant source of supply. There was, however, need of larger and more continuous deliveries of such material; and at length they were obtained from a district much nearer to the works then under construction—viz., Chislehurst.

The ancient trackway, which ran from the head of the camp at Chislehurst, and passed through Elmstead Wood and Blackheath to the Watling Street at Deptford, would give the facilities needed for transport; and many hundreds of carts, laden with chalk and flints, may have daily traversed this road in a continuous stream, and have emptied their contents into the barges awaiting them at Deptford, from whence in little more than an hour's tide

¹ Some forty or fifty years since, in pulling down some old almshouses in Cripplegate (I think they were Lambeth's foundation), between Barber-Surgeons' Hall and Wood Street, the workmen came upon a considerable length of the Roman Wall, on which these almshouses had been built, and which ran in a westerly direction to the bastion in the adjoining churchyard. Being much interested in the work, the writer made daily visits to the spot, and can testify not only to the immense thickness and solidity of its construction, but also as to its composition, which was principally of stone, flints, and chalk-breccia, with alternate layers of Roman tiling. The quantity of lime, cement, or mortar was considerably in excess of that used in modern times, and was of so hard a nature as to require the use of specially-made iron chisels or wedges for its destruction.

they would reach their points of destination in the City.¹ The rampart of excavated chalk raised from the galleries below, as already mentioned, may have been the first portion attacked and removed; then followed further excavations: new galleries being formed, which in their course destroyed many of the dene-holes, and in many cases reached points to which the explorer of to-day would be unable to penetrate without extreme danger.

As regards the caves as a whole, and the extent of the galleries in particular, there is much to learn: in course of time more information may be forthcoming, and some "finds" made which will throw a stronger light upon the subject; but it will be apparent to every interested visitor that it must involve a considerable amount both of time and labour, if one individual is to accomplish such a work as the thorough and complete investigation and exploration of the Chislehurst Caves.

¹ There is the present road to Deptford, also of early date, which leaves the Common by way of West Chislehurst, *Coldharbour*, and Mottingham. This, though a little longer in the route, is of easier gradient, and may have caused the abandonment of the ancient trackway through Elmstead.



British Archaeological Association.

SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONGRESS, SHEFFIELD, 1903.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10TH, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 15TH.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10TH, 1903.

After the lapse of exactly thirty years, the British Archæological Association made Sheffield the headquarters of its sixtieth annual Congress. The president of the association this year is Mr. R. E. Leader, whose knowledge of Sheffield's interesting past is probably unexcelled by that of any other living citizen. Members of the Association were welcomed to Sheffield at the Town Hall in the afternoon, the Lord Mayor (Alderman Wycliffe Wilson) presiding over a brief and informal gathering in the reception rooms.

Welcoming the members in a brief and cordial speech, the Lord Mayor remarked that though there were many present at the Congress thirty years since who were not now amongst them, the number of places and objects of archæological interest in Sheffield was now probably as great as three decades back. Though his (the speaker's) knowledge of archæology was small, the Association had in its president one whose acquaintance with the subject was unequalled in Sheffield.

Mr. R. E. Leader, acknowledging the welcome on behalf of the Association, emphasised the fact that whatever else changed in Sheffield, as years went by, nothing altered the traditional hospitality of the City and Corporation. The local records bore testimony to the manner in which accredited strangers were welcomed by the City Fathers in the old days. It was not now, as in the distant past, the custom to take strangers to one of the leading taverns of the town. The present Lord Mayor would probably not care to entertain any distinguished visitors to Sheffield at "The Cock" or "The Rose and Crown," but his hospitality was none the less sincere. A railway guide he had picked up in travelling to Sheffield that day had described the place as "comparatively unattractive, but of unique importance in connection with cutlery." But there was a good deal that was very attractive to the archæologist in Sheffield, and he hoped

the visit of the Association would have at least the effect of reviving interest in archæology in the city and district.

After the ceremony at the Town Hall, the members walked across to the parish church, and there saw the charter, dated 1554, and signed by Queen Mary, constituting the "twelve capital burgesses," or, as they are now known, the church burgesses. Mr. J. R. Wigfull, one of the local secretaries, pointed out the features of the church, and read the following notes on

SHEFFIELD PARISH CHURCH.

The parish church of St. Peter has undergone so many alterations during the last 120 years, that little is now left of its original structure. The first church of which there is any record was erected in the early part of the twelfth century, possibly by William de Lovetot, the founder of Worksop Priory. A few stones, ornamented with chevron enrichments, and now built into the walls of the chancel, are all that remain of this early church. The tower and spire, together with parts of the interior of the chancel, are evidence of a church erected in the fifteenth century, and probably replacing that of de Lovetot. From drawings made in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the plan of this later church can be reconstructed with tolerable accuracy. The nave was of five bays, with aisles and a projecting porch on the south side. The easternmost bays of the aisles projected some four or five feet beyond the others, and their outer faces were continued by the transepts and aisles of the chancel. The piers of the nave were octagonal, and had battlemented caps similar to those now existing in the arcades of the chancel. The clerestory windows were of three lights, each with cusping in head. The projection in the aisles of the nave probably contained the seats of the lord of the manor and patron of the living. A sketch-plan, showing a proposed re-seating of the north aisle after the widening at the end of the eighteenth century, contains a square pew which probably fitted into the recess, and is labelled "The Duke's Closet." The chancel had aisles of two bays, the centre portion extended beyond these to the extent of another bay. The general plan here indicated is identical with that of the neighbouring church of Ecclesfield—a structure of late fifteenth-century date.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, erected a mortuary chapel for himself and his family. This is situated in the south-eastern angle of the chancel, and is known as the Shrewsbury Chapel. The monuments in this chapel render it the most interesting portion of the church. Under an arch between

the chancel and the chapel is the altar-tomb of the fourth Earl; on it lie the effigies of the founder and his two wives: Ann, a daughter of William, Lord Hastings, who died about the year 1520, and was buried here, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden, knight, of Erith in Kent, who died in 1567 and was buried at Erith, and not, as erroneously stated on this monument, in this chapel. The fourth Earl died in 1538. In the centre of the chapel is an altar-tomb of later date; it bears the arms of George, the sixth Earl, together with those of Gertrude Manners, his first wife, and those of their four sons. The late Mr. Samuel Mitchell, who had seen the accounts, said this monument was "the work of Roseymond the Burgundian, in the years 1584-5, and that the artist was paid for it £20, by George, sixth Earl of Salop." The Earl probably became dissatisfied with this somewhat unpretentious monument, as between this date and his death in 1590, he erected a lofty monument at the south side of the chapel. Here, under a canopy supported by Corinthian columns, is an effigy of the Earl. He is represented in armour, reclining on his side. A long inscription in Latin, from the pen of John Fox the martyrologist, sets forth the Earl's designation, family descent and achievements, and refers to his custody of Mary Queen of Scots.

The erection of this chapel seems to have been the last structural addition to the church, of which any traces remain previous to the alterations towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1703 the church was damaged during a violent storm, and in the following year the chancel was repaired by the Duke of Norfolk. There is in existence a series of drawings signed by J. Carr, and dated 1771, showing the proposed re-casing of the chancel with moor stone. This was put on the outer face of the wall in slabs about 4 in. in thickness, and secured with iron cramps. At the same time the tracery of the windows was renewed. A note on Mr. Carr's drawing of the east elevation says, in reference to the east window of the Shrewsbury Chapel:—"N.B. The window in this part at present is very different from this window": a statement one can readily believe after an examination of the existing window, which follows the lines shown on the drawing. Amongst these drawings is one entitled "Mr. Carr's plan for a Repository;" it shows a charnel-house, and also a place for the town fire-engine to be housed. These were to be erected at the north-eastern angle of the chancel, and were probably intended to replace what has been elsewhere described as "an old deformed building, wherein the fire-engines belonging to the town are kept." This scheme, however, was never carried out. Another drawing shows a different treatment of this angle, practically on the existing lines, so

far as outward appearance is concerned. This scheme comprised a vestry, with a room over it for the use of the church burgesses. The building was erected in 1777, by the Duke of Norfolk from the designs of Thomas Atkinson, architect of York, possibly a successor of J. Carr, who was in practice in the same city.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the interior of the church presented a curious appearance. The seats, both on the floor of the church and in the galleries, were of all sizes and shapes. The chancel was a receptacle for dust and lumber. In 1790, a faculty was granted to widen the aisles and rebuild the outer walls. This is described as being "according to Wm. Lindley's scheme." The outer walls were rebuilt with four windows, as against the five bays of the nave arcade. In 1800, many schemes were prepared by William Lindley and others for completing the rebuilding of the nave and reseating it. Two years later a faculty was granted, and the work was completed in 1805, when the church was reopened. The arches leading from the nave were bricked up, cutting off the chancel entirely. The nave arcades were rebuilt, and the church was re-seated throughout. With slight modifications, this was the condition of the church up to the restoration of 1878-80. Then the galleries were swept away, the nave was lengthened, and north and south transepts and vestries were erected. In taking down the wall dividing the old vestry from the north aisle of the chancel, a fine fifteenth-century window was discovered. This has been refixed in the east wall of the north transept, and with the exception of those in the tower it is the only example of old tracery remaining.

An interesting document connected with church life in Sheffield is Queen Mary's Charter, preserved in the Church Burgesses' room. The charter is dated 1554, and has attached to it the seal of Queen Mary; it incorporated the "Twelve Capital Burgesses and Commonalty of the Town and Parish of Sheffield," and placed at their disposal the revenues of certain properties which had been diverted to the Crown during the reign of Edward VI. The parish registers are in good preservation, and date from 1560.

From the parish church the party were driven to Manor Lodge, where, under the guidance of Mr. T. Winder, A.M.I.C.E., surveyor to the Duke of Norfolk, they inspected the rooms said to have been occupied by Mary Queen of Scots during her imprisonment at Sheffield Castle. Mr. Winder made a most interesting and instructive guide, and related practically all that is known of the Manor; his notes on Sheffield Manor are published, pages 43 to 48.

In the evening the members and friends were entertained by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, at a *conversazione* given in the reception rooms at the Town Hall. The guests were received in the Lord Mayor's parlour, and the first hour was given over to conversation, and the enjoyment of a programme of light music rendered by Mr. Charles Harvey's orchestra. The members of the Association and visitors who were present included the president (Mr. R. E. Leader), Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, Mr. and Mrs. Ferrar, Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. W. J. Nichols, the Rev. H. J. and Mrs. Dukinfield Astley, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Russell, Mr. W. E. Hughes, Mr. Duppa Lloyd, Mr. Chas. Lynam, Mr. C. J. Williams, Mr. S. Rayson, and Mr. G. Patrick; Miss Winstone, Miss Bentley, Miss Scull, Miss Lynam, Mrs. Collier, Mrs. Pears, and others; whilst among the local guests were Alderman Eaton, Rev. D. Haigh, Dr. John Stokes, Dr. Manton, Messrs. T. H. Waterhouse, Jos. Cooke, R. H. Holland, E. Howarth, and many others, whose names will be found on the list on pages 75 and 76, together with their wives and daughters. The gathering was a large and representative one, and rendered bright and attractive by the presence of so many ladies. Mr. and Mrs. Howard Wilson were with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. After light refreshments had been served in the Council chamber, the company present assembled to hear the presidential address from Mr. R. E. Leader. A paper of considerable local interest was expected from one whose name is so associated in the city with research into the archaeology of the district, and anticipations were more than realised in the admirable address delivered by Mr. Leader.

The Lord Mayor, in a few words, extended a welcome to the visitors who had arrived since the afternoon, and introduced Mr. Leader to the gathering.

After the presidential address, which will be found on pages 1 to 14, a hearty vote of thanks to the president was carried; and Mr. Leader, in responding, said that he had tried to take a "Brightside view why Sheffield is Sheffield," a remark which caused considerable laughter.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20th, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Mr. MacMichael, of Hammersmith.

Mr. M. Cooke, of "Tankerville," Kingston-on-Thames.

The Phœbe A. Hearst Architectural Library, Superintending
Architects' Department, New York, care of Mr. John Galen
Howard, of 156, Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Albert Museum, South Kensington.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of
the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," vol. xi,
Nos. 1—5, 1904.
- „ Somersetshire Archæological Society for "Proceedings," 1903.
- „ Royal Dublin Society for "Scientific Proceedings," vol. x,
Part 1 ; "Economic Proceedings," vol. i, Part 4.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological Society for "Inq. P.M.," from the
reign of Henry III. ; "Magazine," December, 1903.
- „ Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report," 1902 ; "Con-
tributions to Knowledge," vol. xxix, 1903 ; "Contributions
to the Hodgkins' Fund," 1903.
- „ Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley for "Extracts from the Oldest
Registers of the Parish of Syderstone, Norfolk," 1903.
- „ W. Essington Hughes, Esq., for "Archæologia Cantiana,"
1887.

Some curious books were exhibited by Mrs. Collier, including a
small book of emblems, *Typus Mundi*, which was published at
Antwerp in 1627, some of the illustrations being very quaint ; A

Papist Misrepresented and Represented; or, a Twofold Character of Popery, 1685; and a small copy of *Paradise Lost*, 1711. Mr. Andrew Oliver exhibited some excellent photographs of an ancient font, unfinished, discovered buried under the flooring of the nave of Staughton Church, Hunts.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley read a Paper entitled "Portuguese Parallels to the Clydeside Discoveries," the first part of which is published in this issue of the *Journal*, pp. 49-63; and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., read a Paper on "The Forest of Galtres, Yorks," which will be published. The Chairman, Mr. Gould, Mr. Forster, and others took part in an interesting discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1904.

MR. C. H. COMPTON, V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

- To the Exeter Diocesan and Archæological Society for "Transactions."* vol. ii, Part 2, Third Series.
- „ *Essex Archæological Society for "Transactions,"* vol. ix, New Series, Part 2.
- „ *Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal,"* vol. x, Second Series, Part 3.
- „ *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal,"* vol. xxxiii, Part 4.

Mr. I. Chalkley Gould remarked that the Association had done some good by going to Sheffield last year, when they sent a petition to the Duke of Norfolk with regard to the preservation of the old British camp at Wincobank. This, with some additional land, had been presented to the town by the Duke on his marriage. The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to his Grace, which was carried by acclamation. Mr. W. J. Nichols read a second Paper on "The Chislehurst Caves and Deneholes," which is published in this issue of the *Journal*, pp. 64-74; and Mr. R. H. Forster followed with a Paper on the same subject, from an entirely different point of view, which will be published. A lively discussion ensued.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16TH, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

Mr. Emanuel Green, F.S.A., Devonshire Club, S.W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution for the "Annual Report of the Board of Regents," for the year 1901.

„ Brussels Archæological Society, for "Annual Report," 1904.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited a photograph of a Neolithic fireplace, discovered in 1903, at Shawalton, N.B., by Mr. T. Downes. Numerous arrowheads, spearheads, and celts were included in the find. The fireplace, perfect when discovered, was in the shape of a basin, and filled with burnt wood and bones. This discovery is the more interesting from being in the neighbourhood made famous by the much-debated finds of Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly at Dumbuck and Dumbuie.

Mr. Astley also exhibited a large photograph of the six coffins (each containing an almost perfect skeleton) discovered during the recent excavations on the site of the great abbey-church at Bury St. Edmunds. One of the skeletons has been identified as that of Abbot Samson, who died in 1211, and has been immortalised by Carlyle in his commentary on the "*Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*," in *Past and Present*. Some photographs of the ancient Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon were also exhibited by Mr. Astley, one showing the exterior as it now appears after the removal of all the surrounding cottages. Canon Jones, who first brought it to light, identified it with the *ecclesiola* mentioned by William of Malmesbury as having been built by Aldhelm, first Bishop of Sherborne, at the close of the eighth century; but recent study of the architectural details, as exhibited by the pilaster strips and the *porticus* on the north side, has shown that it is later than the time of Aldhelm, probably about 975. A photograph of the interior showed the east wall of the nave with the quaint chancel arch, hardly larger than a doorway, and considered to be the smallest in England. A view of the Bridge Chapel was also given. It is hoped that a visit to Bradford-on-Avon will be included in the programme of the Congress at Bath, in August.

A paper was read by Mr. Andrew Oliver, dealing with the ancient appearance of Whitehall and the Thames, and the history of the numerous stately buildings which once lined the ancient thoroughfare of the Strand. The paper was profusely illustrated by old engravings, maps (including Ralph Aggas's and that of Hoefnagel, 1560), and plans and views of Whitehall at various dates. These comprised Inigo Jones's design for rebuilding the Royal Palace, of which the present Banqueting House (now the United Service Museum) was the only part carried out.

Mr. Patrick read a paper by Mr. C. Lynam upon the remarkable Saxon doorway on the west end of the north wall of the ancient church at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire, which was visited by the Association during the Congress last year. The paper was illustrated by sketches made on the spot, and by geometrical drawings to scale.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. I. C. Gould, Mr. Astley, Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and others took part.

ADDENDUM.—In our report of the Meeting held on December 16th, 1903, the account of the following exhibitions was accidentally omitted, viz. :—

Mrs. Collier exhibited a portfolio of plates, being reproductions of rubbings taken from the very curious figured rocks in the valley of Fontarabia, by Mr. C. Bicknell, of Bordighera. The historian Geoffredo, about 1650, wrote of these figured rocks in his history of the Maritime Alps, reprinted at Turin in 1824. The rocks are of various colours, engraved with a thousand figures of quadrupeds, birds, fish, military implements shields, etc., supposed to be the work of the ancient Carthaginians. Mr. Bicknell's investigations have been recorded by the Ligurian Society of Natural Science at Genoa.

Mr. Cato Worsfold exhibited several specimens of ancient ironwork discovered in various parts of London, one being an iron tally with the numerals $3\frac{1}{2}$ upon it, from the site of the old Bear Pit in Southwark, and another the top of a halberd or spear dug up in Whitechapel. He also exhibited as a warning one of the many forgeries of "Billy and Charlie," in the shape of a medal, which was found when excavating at Charing Cross Station in 1860.

Miss Bentley exhibited a tray of tokens of various dates, one of Van Diemen's Land.



Obituary.

MR. WILLIAM HENRY COPE.

Mr. W. H. Cope was the eldest son of the late Chas. Cope, Esq., of 58, Euston Square, and was born September 8th, 1818, and died March 31st, 1903. He had been for forty years a member of this Association, and was an authority on the subject of ancient ecclesiastical stained glass and on old Plymouth china, on which he contributed Papers, published in the *Journal*, in 1882. He directed in his will that his collection of ornamental china, jade, and old German and Venetian glass should be sold. His widow only survived him a very few weeks.

SIR ALBERT WOODS.

Sir Albert Woods, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.S.A., who died January 7th, 1904, aged 87, had been a member of this Association for fifty-nine years, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries for fifty-six; while his connection with the Heralds' College extended over the unprecedented period of sixty-seven years. Since 1868 he had held the office of Garter Principal King-of-Arms. Although a genealogist of considerable repute, Sir Albert Woods does not appear to have contributed any papers to the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries, and only one contribution from his pen appears in our *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71.

REV. S. F. CRESWELL, D.D., Etc.

The Rev. Samuel Francis Creswell, D.D., for twenty-five years rector of Northrepps, Norfolk, died early in March at his rectory, at the age of seventy. Educated at King's College, London, and St. John's College, Cambridge, he was ordained in 1860. He was subsequently curate of Hildenborough, Head Master of Dartford Grammar School, and Chaplain to St. Mary's Home, Stone. He went to Ireland in 1870, and was Principal of the High School, Dublin, from 1870 till 1879, when the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster presented him to the rectory of Northrepps. He had been a member of the Association since 1861, and a constant attendant at its Congresses, but contributed no papers. He had, however, written elsewhere on the antiquities of his native county of Notts.

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AUGUST 1904.

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OF THE
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FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

AUGUST, 1904.

THE CHISLEHURST CAVES.

BY T. E. AND R. H. FORSTER.

(Read February 17th, 1904).



THESE excavations are very extensive for chalk workings—perhaps the most extensive in this country; but the survey, so far as it goes, has proved them to be smaller than is generally imagined; on a first visit the place seems almost interminable, but distances underground are notoriously deceptive, especially to those who are not used to underground work. The workings shown on the plan cover an area of less than twenty acres.

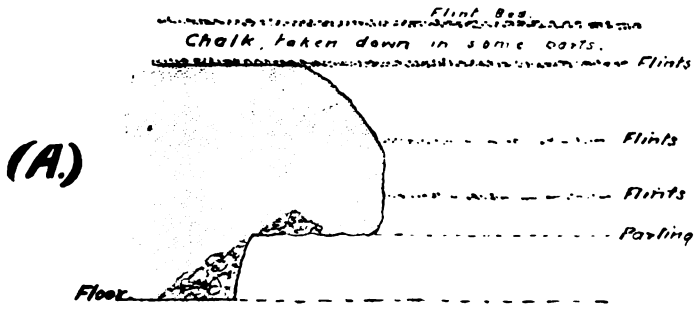
That the caves have been a chalk mine, or rather a series of chalk mines, we have no doubt whatever: they have been worked on systems commonly used in mining, and exhibit the characteristic features of mines in almost every detail. The middle series of workings in particular bear so strong a resemblance to some of the old High Main coal workings in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, that it is possible to conjecture that this portion has been worked under the management of an expert pitman from that district. These old North Country workings

date approximately from the early years of the eighteenth century ; their galleries have been dressed up with the pick in just the same fashion as has been followed at Chislehurst ; their general character is similar to that revealed by the recent survey ; and the same practice occurs of driving small passages to prove the position of adjacent pits ; the 80-ft. shaft is of the diameter—6 ft.—commonly sunk in Northumberland at the period mentioned, and it has apparently been closed in a manner which, unfortunately, was too often used at the same date—by a timber scaffold with a covering of earth—though here the danger is lessened by the fact that an open drain-pipe has been inserted to mark the place. This shaft has a masonry lining through the Thanet Sand, and there is no reason to suppose that this lining is not as old as the shaft itself. It is not improbable that the other shaft—that which contains a drain-pipe from a garden on the surface—is a little older than the 80-ft. shaft : the latter may have been sunk when the development of the mine in that direction made the barrowing of the chalk from the working-places to the drain-pipe shaft a laborious business. The flooring of this portion of the workings is undoubtedly in its original condition ; and except where there has been a drip of water from the roof, the marks of the barrow-wheels are everywhere discernible ; some lead to one shaft and some to the other, according to the quarter of the mine in which they occur, the largest and deepest rut of all being that which enters the straight passage leading to the 80-ft. shaft, at the point where all barrows going to that shaft must have converged. Barrows were at one time used in coal mines for the purpose of conveying coal from working-places to the shaft, and the terms “barrow man” and “barrow way” long survived the introduction of other methods of transport. Possibly barrows remained in use at Chislehurst after trams, or wooden sledges, had become common in collieries.

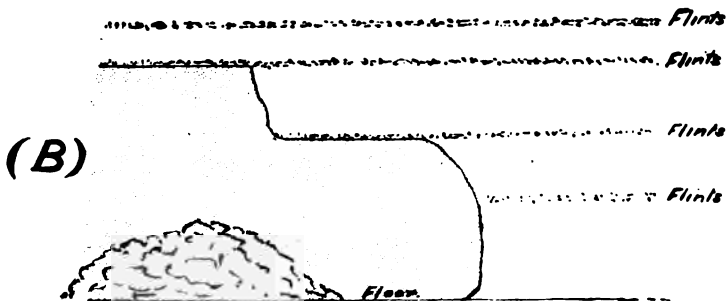
The thickness of chalk worked appears to average from 10 ft. to 12 ft. In working beds of a similar thickness it is usual to follow one of two systems :—(1) So much

of the upper portion as can be conveniently removed at one working is first extracted, leaving the lower portion as a step or shelf, or as it is technically called a "bottom

SECTIONS SHEWING, (A) BOTTOM CANCH WORKING.



(B) TOP CANCH WORKING.



Scale, 8 feet to 1 inch.

canch," on which the miner stands as he drives his working-place forward; when that working-place has been driven forward for a convenient distance, the lower portion, or "bottom canch," is taken up. (2). The bottom portion is taken out first to a convenient height, leaving a "top

canch" which is "dropped," or taken down afterwards; the miner standing on the loose material already dislodged in order to reach it. It is evident that the middle mine has been worked on the former of these systems, and the inner and outer mines on the latter.

The advantage of working with a "bottom canch" was that greater care could be used in dressing up and arching the roof, and by that means the mine was made more secure. It is clear that the manager of the middle mine was an exceedingly careful and cautious man, and this portion of the caves is accordingly safer than the rest. He must have had also a fad for order and neatness—not by any means an unknown trait—and not only had the sides and arching of the passages carefully tooled, but he did the same with the working-places before the mine was given up. If—as is most probable—the mine was worked under a lease from the lord of the manor, that lease would contain a covenant to leave the mine in a safe condition and in good order at the end of the term; and in this case the covenant has been faithfully performed. One can also tell that he was an experienced and economical pitman, from the fact, that wherever practicable, he has driven forward along a *jack* or natural fissure in the chalk; these *jacks* may be noticed in many places, and are generally distinguished by the smoothness of the side-wall, and a redness of the surface caused by the infiltration of water from above. Driving along a *jack* would lighten the labour of excavation, and would also save a great deal of work in dressing up the surface. It is this utilisation of *jacks* that has caused these middle workings to be more irregular in outline than the outer mine.

The fact that the system of working with a "bottom canch" was followed in the middle mine affords a simple explanation of the supposed altar-tables: they are evidently portions of the "bottom canch" which have been left for the miner to stand on, as he continued the working of the upper part of the chalk. In some cases, the whole of the "bottom canch" has been removed before the mine was given up, but in several cases a few feet have been left, forming a shelf or table.

The supposed dene-hole chambers in the outer workings, or first mine, appear to be working-places where the lower part of the chalk has been taken out and the work abandoned before the top was brought down. The double-ended dene-hole chamber is simply a double working-place: one end shows where the passage or gallery was to be continued straight forward, and the other where a cross passage was to be turned away to the left, and would eventually have formed another pillar by joining the adjacent passage which, as shown in the plan, has been blocked by a fall. In just the same manner we find most of the "altar-recesses" in pairs, and approximately at right angles. A glance at the plan will show how the driving forward of these places would have formed fresh pillars, if the work of the mine had been continued.

The fact that the ends of these places are curved, both horizontally and vertically—thus forming recesses which have been described as beehive-shaped—is perfectly consistent with the ordinary course of working: the miner has a natural tendency to work the middle of the place forward before the sides up to a certain height; while the vertical curvature or doming of the upper part is due to the curve described by the stroke of the pick, as that portion is hewn down.

Before leaving this section of the caves, it is necessary to say something of the well, which is a circular shaft, about 5 ft. in diameter and at present 40 ft. deep, sunk in a chamber opening out of one of the main roads. That it has been used as a well at some period is beyond dispute; the iron bar fixed above the mouth would not be strong enough for any other purpose than the raising of water. But it does not follow that it was designed and sunk as a well. Very possibly it may have occurred to the manager of the mine to put down a subsidiary shaft, or "staple" as it would be called in the north, in order to prove what depth of chalk he had below him, and what was the quality of the chalk at a lower level: especially as the lower chalk had the reputation of being better for agricultural purposes than the upper. In this

case he would naturally sink in such a position as would not interfere with the work of the mine ; and from an inspection of the plan it will be seen that a suitable site was selected. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the first use of the place as a well occurred when Mr. Baskcomb began to use a not-far-distant part of the workings as an underground garden.

As already stated, the first and third, or outer and inner, series of workings have been carried out on a different system, and with a less degree of care ; a greater quantity of chalk has been extracted, and these workings generally are less secure than the middle mine ; in some parts of the third series in particular—the part last surveyed—there have been some bad falls of chalk from the roof ; and at one point in this district there is a pillar of extraordinarily small dimensions—about 5 ft. by 4 ft. at the thinnest part. There is no ground whatever for supposing that these workings—the first and third series—are not in their original condition. If they had once been similar in the middle mine, and resorted to at a later date for further supplies of chalk or flints, it is not likely that the workers would have worked all round the pillars : it would have been easier to have taken the same amount in one strip from one side of each pillar ; and in any case we should certainly have expected to find some trace of the process—some pillar only partially stripped.

So far as can be judged, practically all the places which have been described as filled-up dene-holes are simply what in mining are termed ‘ falls ’—i.e., places where the chalk roof has given way, and the sand, gravel, and surface soil lying above the chalk have fallen through. The large pot-holes in Chalk-pit Wood are certainly due to this cause, though no doubt the action of the weather has enlarged them since the “falls” first took place. Such pot-holes are not at all uncommon in mining districts.

These “falls” occur mainly in two directions—(1) where the workings approach the western slope of the hill, and (2) in the neighbourhood of the dene, or hollow, which runs up the hill from point a little to the south of the

present entrance to the caves. In the first case it is possible that some of the "falls" are really the blocking-up of drifts or adits by the collapse of the cliffs of Thanet Sand soil lying above their original entrances. In the second case, the dene or hollow has at some remote period been scooped out by a considerable stream, which seems to have washed away a large part of the Thanet Sand, leaving a thinner and weaker covering overlying the chalk, so that a "fall" has occurred in the mines wherever the chalk roof has been worked too thin. "Falls" of the former class are very numerous in unsurveyed workings to the west and south-west of the part last explored, showing that in this neighbourhood we are very near the slope of the hill. We may, therefore, conjecture that the workings do not extend far to the west of those shown on the plan, and it does not seem likely that they go much further to the south-east. To the south they may extend for a considerable distance; but south of the most southerly gallery shown on the plan the quality of the air is such as to make surveying somewhat unpleasant: though in the gallery mentioned, and to the north of it, some chance system of natural ventilation is at work, and the air is perfectly good. However, there is no reason to believe that these unsurveyed workings differ in any respect from the adjacent district which has been surveyed, and enough has already been examined to show the general character of the place.

As to the relative age of the three series of workings, it is probable that they are, roughly speaking, contemporaneous. If there is any difference in date, the middle mine is the most recent. Those who have visited the caves will remember the narrow passage leading from the outer to the middle workings, and a similar passage leads from the latter to the third mine. Now, the character of the tooling in these passages, and their direction as shown on the plan, make it clear that they were driven from the middle mine in order to prove the position of the other workings, and not *vice versa*; the manager of the middle mine must have known of the existence of these other workings; he must have

suspected that he was approaching them, and accordingly he drove these small passages to test his position. In each case, it will be seen from the plan that he did not at first drive in quite the right direction, and so was forced to make a turn before he could hole through into the workings that he wished to prove. It is clear, then, that the first and third mines must have been in existence, and may have been in operation, at the time when the middle mine was at work : the manager of the middle mine would find that the western face of his workings was approaching the eastern face of the third mine—at one point they are very little more than 10 yards apart—and he seems accordingly to have cleaned up his working-places, and gone no further in that direction.

If this supposition be correct, it implies a fair amount of skill in underground surveying, and so may possibly set a limit to the antiquity of the mines ; and other indications point the same way, apart from the broad fact that without some knowledge of surveying these workings could hardly have been carried on. The most northerly point of the outer mine comes close to the road up Chislehurst Hill, and there stops short ; there is no blocking of the passage by a fall, but simply a dead-end. The most northerly part of the middle mine—that part which Mr. Baskcomb used as a garden—penetrates only a few yards beyond the line of the same road, and stops short in the same manner. It is not improbable that the road was the boundary of the districts leased to the owners of these two mines ; for in the second case it would need a very small error in the survey to cause a slight unintentional trespass, such as seems to have occurred : such cases are not uncommon in mining, and men who could ascertain their position with this approach to accuracy did not belong to an early period.

To what period they and their mines actually belonged is a question hard to answer with any degree of certainty. It may be that the cellars of some solicitor's office contain the clue in the shape of a lease or counterpart of a lease from the royalty-owner : who, as the whole of the

surface was probably then waste land, was no doubt the lord of the manor; but at present the only indication of date is the resemblance between these mines and some of the old High Main workings near Newcastle, which are thought to be about two hundred years old.

It is possible that similarity of construction is not their only point of connection with the old collieries of Tyneside. The shipping of coal from the north to the Thames began as far back as the thirteenth century, and until comparatively recent times was carried on in sailing vessels, mostly of small tonnage, which made the return voyage in ballast: that ballast, as is proved by extensive deposits near the northern ports, was largely composed of chalk and flints, and it is possible that some of it came from Chislehurst.

It will be objected that ships would obtain ballast from places nearer the river, and so, no doubt, they would, if it were procurable; but when we consider the enormous quantity of ballast which must have been used in the course of five or six hundred years, it is not unreasonable to imagine that the sources of supply near the Thames were inadequate, or could not be worked fast enough, to meet the demand, and that some of the Chislehurst chalk was carted to Deptford to fill the deficiency. Mr. Nichols has referred to an ancient trackway leading from Chislehurst to Deptford; and it is possible either that the ancient road was brought into use again, or that the trackway is really an eighteenth-century cart-road, used for conveying chalk ballast to Tyne colliers. Certainly, the mouths of the two shafts of the middle mine are about on a level with the beginning of this road.

There is another consideration which makes this idea possible. That some of the produce of the mines was burnt into lime on the spot is proved by the existence of an old lime-kiln near the present entrance; the large mounds, which have been taken for part of the defences of an ancient camp, appear to be "tip-heaps," or deposits of refuse from this kiln, or of baring from adjacent quarries. Now, if coal were used in the process of lime-

burning, that coal would probably be carted from Deptford ; and if the carts, instead of going empty to the river, could take a return load of chalk ballast, any price obtained for it from the ships would be so much to the good. No doubt, wood may have been used for lime-burning at one time, as it was used for smelting iron in Sussex ; and, curiously enough, the latter industry died out, owing to the exhaustion of the wood supplies, much about the date already indicated as probably marking the commencement of the Chislehurst mines. The same exhaustion may have occurred here ; for the timber in Chalkpit Wood and thereabouts appears to be less than two hundred years old. As to lime-burning before such exhaustion, it must be remembered that before the commencement of these mines, there has been an extensive quarrying of chalk for a considerable distance along the face of the hill. Quarrying cannot be carried on indefinitely ; it is a question of "cover"—i.e., of the sand, soil, and other substances which lie above the material to be quarried, and must be removed as the work goes on. Any one who has visited the Chislehurst Caves and has noticed the cliff of Thanet Sand and soil which rises above the entrance, will see that no more open quarrying of chalk could have been carried on there ; the cover to be removed would have been so heavy as to make the work unprofitable. Broadly speaking, every ounce of chalk that could be quarried at Chislehurst has been quarried long ago.

However, on the whole it is more likely that a considerable quantity of chalk was sent to lime-kilns on the banks of the Thames. There is no doubt that such kilns were in operation in the Greenwich neighbourhood in the early part of the eighteenth century : in 1720 an Act of Parliament was passed for repairing the road from the Stones End in Kent Street to the lime-kilns in East Greenwich. Such kilns must have used sea-borne coal, and in the manufacture of lime for export or the London market, it would be cheaper to cart the chalk to kilns situated near a spot where the coal could be landed and the lime shipped, than to cart the coal to the place where

the chalk was dug, and afterwards cart the lime to the river.

It is, no doubt, possible that there were at Chislehurst workings earlier than the main galleries shown on the plan: the dene-hole discovered at Camden Park is certainly more ancient, but in the neighbourhood of Chalkpit Wood the traces of older workings are very doubtful. The shaft on the hill above the entrance to the caves, which Mr. Nichols has had cleared, may or may not be older; and the same must be said of another shaft, the bottom of which, now filled up with a tightly-compressed mass of broken stone and other rubbish, may be seen close at hand on the right as one enters the caves. At present it is uncertain where the chalk from the outer mine was brought to day: the entrance now used is probably not the original main entrance: which on the whole is more likely to have been by one of the passages, now blocked, further to the north. But even if the bulk of the chalk were wheeled out by such a drift or adit, there may also have been one or more shafts for raising to a higher level chalk which was to be delivered for use on the more elevated land to the east. Chalk was extensively used for manuring clay land, and a large tract of such land lies to the east of Chislehurst. It would be far easier to raise the chalk needed for agricultural purposes to a higher level by a shaft, than to bring it out at the level of the present entrance, and then cart it up the hill.

There is, therefore, grave doubt whether any dene-holes of the type found in Essex and other parts of Kent exist in this quarter of Chislehurst at all; and even if undoubted examples should be proved, the case is not materially altered. In spite of the great learning and patient investigation which have been bestowed upon the dene-holes of Essex and Kent, the received theory as to their origin and purpose is open to grave objection; it is more probable that all were chalk mines of early date, though they may possibly have been used as places of refuge at a latertime, just as the De Beers mines were used during the siege

of Kimberley. The refuge and granary theories are theories pure and simple, and depend largely on the negativing of the chalk-mine explanation by arguments which do not appear by any means conclusive. This chalk-mine theory was propounded by Mr. Roach Smith, and has been rejected by later investigators on several grounds, the chief objections being as follows :—

- (1) The shape of the excavations.
- (2) Their proximity.
- (3) The absence of intercommunication.
- (4) Their local position.
- (5) The difficulty of raising anything by their shafts.

To these objections the following answers may be suggested :—

(1) Their shape—the floriated or star-fish shape shown on Mr. T. V. Holmes's plans of the dene-holes of Hangman's Wood in Essex. This objection is in reality a strong confirmation of the chalk-mine theory. The gist of the objection seems to be that the shape differs from that of the bell-pit : but the plain bell-pit marks an earlier stage in the history of mining—earlier, that is to say, not necessarily in point of date but in point of development : just as we find contemporary races in different stages of culture, one for instance, being in the Neolithic stage, while another is in the Bronze Age, and a third in the Iron, so a primitive system of mining may have existed at the same period as one more advanced. The star-fish-shaped pit marks the next succeeding stage : it is an improvement on the bell-pit ; it enables the miner to win more chalk at one sinking ; and if no examples of it were known, it would be necessary to postulate its existence in order to supply the missing link between the primitive bell-pit and the pillared and galleried mine of the kind seen at Chislehurst. If we look at the plan of the typical dene-hole, we can see how easy it would have been to connect the branching excavations and form pillars ; and the plans appended to the Essex Field Club's Report show that in some cases this was actually done.

(2) Their proximity.—The miner drove his chambers

or embryo galleries until the labour of moving the chalk to the shaft became excessive, and then he was forced to sink another pit; a rough measurement would show him how far he could extend his workings underground, and another rough measurement on the surface would determine the position of the next shaft. From the first pit he would learn the position of the chalk and its quality, and he would keep as close as possible to what he had already proved.

(3) The absence of intercommunication.—These dene-holes are certainly of considerable antiquity, and date from a time when an accurate underground survey was not possible; therefore the worker of one mine could never tell exactly at what point he would hole through into the next. If he did so in a line with one of the branches or chambers, that would be safe enough; but if in driving forward his chamber, he worked into one of the half-pillars or buttresses separating the chambers of the adjoining pit, a fall of the roof would almost certainly occur; at any rate, it would be a danger known and apprehended; and it is reasonable to suppose that as the sound showed that he was close to the next pit, he ceased working or turned his chamber in another direction. But, after all, there is no particular reason why there should be such communication. If the adjacent mine was abandoned, and possibly partially filled with sand, it was to the interest of the miner to keep a barrier between the disused workings and his own: though the plans of the Hangman's Wood dene-holes show that he has not always succeeded in doing so.

(4) The position of the dene-holes.—Much has been written of the "lunacy" of people sinking shafts to win chalk, when chalk could be obtained on the surface in the near neighbourhood. Setting aside the point that in mining, as in other matters, some people do foolish things even at the present day, this objection is based upon the assumption (1) that the land where the chalk is the surface rock was unoccupied, and (2) that the working and transportation of chalk to the point where it was required was more easily effected by open

quarries than by pits. As to the first point, it is very suggestive that we find such a collection of pits in Hangman's Wood—a place which must always have been waste land—while the tract where chalk is the surface rock was probably cultivated from an early date. Now, in certain parts of county Durham there formerly existed a right for the commoner to mine coal under the waste of the manor, and in many places a similar right to work stone existed. It is not impossible that some right or custom of a similar nature may have determined the locality of the Hangman's Wood pits. As to the second point, much depends on the thickness of the surface soil, and there appears to have been a prejudice against the top chalk: in Wiltshire, in quite recent times, chalk was won by mining, even where it was the surface rock. Quarrying involves the removal of the surface-soil and the restoration of the land when the work is finished; and it is by no means clear that quarrying would be an easier or less expensive method of obtaining chalk than mining; the former would throw valuable land out of cultivation for a considerable time, and might damage it permanently; while the latter, if the pits were sunk on the waste, could only cause damage by the deposit of the material dug from the shaft, and such damage would only affect land which was practically valueless. Again, if chalk were dug for chalking the clay-lands of Essex, it would pay to bring it to the surface as near those lands as possible, and save the extra transport from the more distant places where chalk is the surface rock. In early times the question of transport may well have presented greater difficulties than the question of mining; in other words, to sink even an 80-ft. shaft may have been a less laborious business than the cartage of every load of chalk over an extra mile.

(5) The difficulty of raising chalk by such narrow shafts.—This objection takes no account of the mechanical means available in early times. Without some modern form of geared winch, it would only be possible to raise a small quantity of chalk at a time from one of these pits, since the weight of 80 ft. of rope has to be

added to the load. Now, chalk is a heavy substance, about twice the weight of coal, bulk for bulk—and the quantity which could be raised at one lift with primitive appliances would occupy a small compass and could be raised by a small shaft. The smaller the shaft, the less danger of the sides of that shaft falling in, and the less labour needed to sink it. If the amount of chalk raiseable at one lift could be contained in something scarcely larger than a bucket, there was no need to sink a shaft wide enough to contain a much larger receptacle.

On the whole, the refuge and the granary theories seem less satisfactory than the chalk-mine explanation. An excavation in a damp substance like chalk would not be so suitable a storage-place for grain as to induce people to dig 80 ft. to reach it; and the difficulty of getting women and children into and out of places of this kind forms a grave objection. The danger of detection, too, would be extreme; for though the mouths of the shafts might be concealed by a wood, that wood is the first place an invader would search, if he found the neighbourhood recently deserted by its inhabitants. On the other hand, we have evidence that the Britons dug chalk to put on their lands, and that chalk was exported to the Continent in Roman times. Altogether, the amount of chalk which must have been used for one purpose or another in the course of many centuries is probably quite sufficient to account for all the chalk excavations of Essex and Kent. For export or ballast, the chalk nearest the river would be worked first; but as the growth of London and the increase of the coal trade enlarged the demand, other sources of supply would be tapped; and it is not necessary to suppose that the former would be worked out before the latter were touched.

In conclusion, while we regret that we are obliged to differ from Mr. Nichols, whose energy and enthusiasm have done such good service to the Association, we wish to express the opinion that the Chislehurst Caves are archæologically of the highest interest. In a country where mining forms, and has for centuries

formed, so important a feature of industrial life, the origin and growth of mining must be of interest to archæologists, and at present the archæology of mining is almost unknown ground. We take a minute concern in the domestic life of the past, but so far we have done little towards investigating one of its earliest and most important industries; and, as throwing light upon the history and development of mining, the Chislehurst Caves are of first-rate importance.





PORTUGUESE PARALLELS TO THE ✓ CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES.

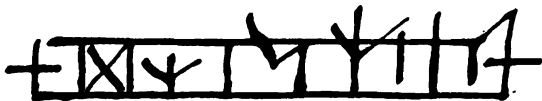
BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R. HIST. S., F.R.S.L.

(Continued from p. 63.)



IN the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1900-1901) is an article by Dr. Henderson on "Brochs," in which this amulet is figured and described. It is a small stone disk, the size of a half-crown. One small piece of bronze, bones, and the rudest possible pottery, were found in the same broch.

On one side of the disk is an inscription, within boundary lines, of which the following is a copy :—





These characters all occur on undisputed Iberian inscriptions, within boundary lines, and may be seen figured in Cartailhac's *Les Ages Préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*.¹ They bear a certain superficial resemblance to runes, and have recently been submitted to Professor Wimmer, the celebrated Runic scholar; but, as might have been expected, and as happened in the case of the Dighton inscription mentioned below, he has not been able to make anything of them.

On the other side of the disk are the following signs :





¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 269, 271.

The signs  and  are familiar. The bird (goose or swan) before the signs is familiar in Egypt.

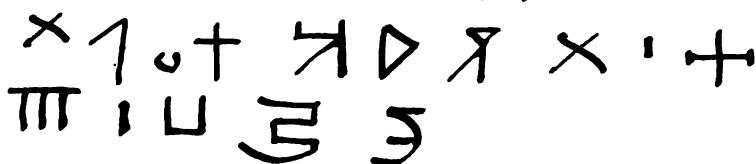
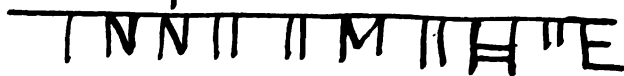
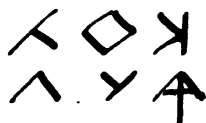
Curiously enough, however, signs which bear a remarkable resemblance to the two final characters on the disk inscription appear on the amulet from Langbank, figured in my Paper, "Some Further Notes on the Langbank Crannog," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. ix, New Series, pp. 59-64, viz.—



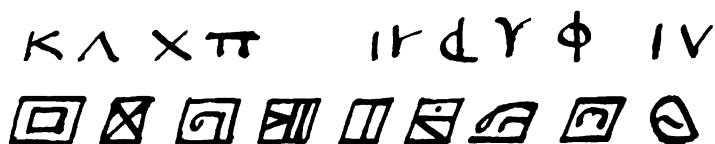
The final character  looks like a *reversed* Greek *Sampi*  which soon went out of use. If the Langbank amulet is not genuine, the only inference is that the Clyde forger, if such a being exists, must have seen the Keiss disk and consciously copied it, with slight variations.

In order to exhibit in one view the world-wide prevalence of these "alphabetiform" signs among prehistoric and present-day primitive races, I transcribe here some of the most remarkable.

1. Some tattoo-marks of the Motu Motu tribe, referred to above :—



2. Examples of numerous runiform characters on the pottery of the Chirighi (an extinct people in Panama):—



The writer on the Chirighi, Mr. W. H. Holmes, says that the signs were ready to hand, and would be used as letters if wanted. The Chirighi could work gold and copper, but mainly used Neolithic tools.

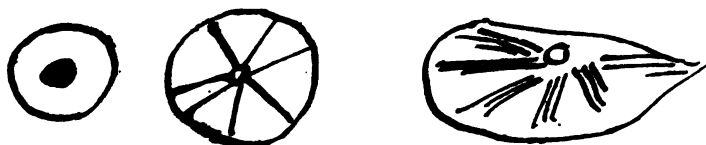
3. On an amulet from Ballinderry, of which I gave a drawing in my Paper on "Ornaments of Jet and Cannel Coal," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi, New Series, pp. 164 to 188, there are to be seen a series of characters in one corner, which look as though they were an inscription, and have been described as being of an Ogamic or Runic nature: the rest of the amulet being covered with dots and small circles.

The following are the signs:—



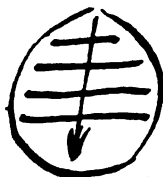
Of this amulet, as well as of some bone-pins similarly inscribed, Dr. Munro says: "I doubt the genuineness of pins and amulets," apparently solely on account of the alphabetiform characters.¹

4. The "painted pebbles" from Mas d'Azil contained many signs besides the alphabetiform ones, and are thus described by M. Piette. (1) Pebbles of number, *i.e.*, having broad bands—one, two, or more—on them, up to eight. A similar practice existed in Egypt. (2) The same, ornamented. (3) Symbolic: (a) Simple crosses; (b) The solar disk (so-called). *e.g.*,

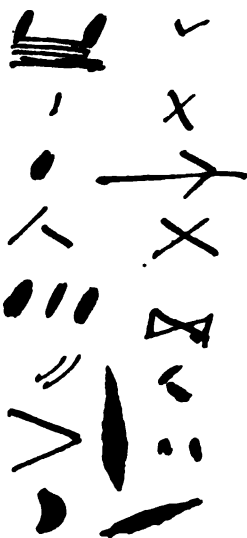
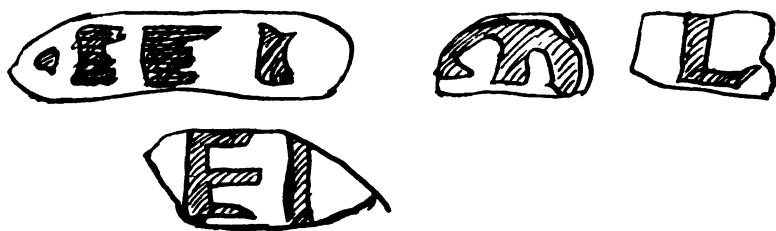


¹ *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 363.

With these may be compared amulets from Dumbuck, and the Portuguese dolmens; (c) The Tau Cross. (4) Pictographic signs, either serpentine, or



exactly resembling the Australian Churinga. (5) Alphabetiform, of which the following are examples:—¹



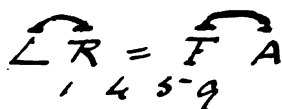
5. Owner's marks from arrows belonging to the Nydam "find" in Schleswig, resembling those on modern Esquimaux arrows. Such have also been found in Sardinia. The Nydam "find" belongs to the Iron Age.²

"There are characters like the Mas d'Azil ones," says Mr. Andrew Lang, "in prehistoric Egyptian, and in Motu Motu and Chirighi, more closely resembling the Roman than the Phœnician alphabet. Apparently, anywhere, at any time, such might occur in great variety. The alphabets were made, I suppose, out of selections of these signs, the choice varying in various places. The signs were decorative at first, I presume, and then, being isolated from the pattern, became marks signifying something."

¹ *L'Anthropologie*, 1895 and 1896.

² *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 12, 13.

It is remarkable how close a resemblance many of these signs bear to European and other potters' marks, which were intended for purposes of identification, and are in many cases alphabetiform, without having any connection with any known alphabet. They are often merely arbitrary signs, formed of simple and natural lines and crosses, *e.g.*, those bearing the makers' initials:—

MAJOLICA: 

ROUEN: 

LAMBETH: 

But most are merely arbitrary, *e.g.*,

COLOGNE: 

SEVRES: 


GERMAN: 

ITALY: 

ENGLISH: CHELSEA : 

BOW: 

WORCESTER: 

BRISTOL: 

As an instance of the way in which antiquaries puzzle themselves needlessly, and make difficulties where a simple explanation such as that proposed in this Paper makes all clear, and also of the advance made in the last thirty years, reference may be made to the "inscribed rocks" in North America, which are of course of the same character, and belong to the same order, as those

described here, and to the rocks with cup- and ring-markings, dots, circles, spirals, ducts, etc.

"The most remarkable of these" (I am quoting Lord Avebury) "is the celebrated Dighton Rock, on the east bank of the Taunton river. Its history, and the various conclusions which have been derived from it, are very amusingly given by Dr. Wilson (*Prehistoric Man*). In 1873, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, appealed to this rock, inscribed, as he believed, with Phœnician characters, for a proof that the Indians were descended from Canaan, and were therefore accursed. Count de Gebelin regarded the inscription as Carthaginian. In the eighth volume of *Archæologia*, Col. Vallency endeavours to prove that it is Siberian; while certain Danish antiquaries regarded it as Runic, and thought that they could read the name "Thorfinn," with an exact though by no means so manifest enumeration of the associates, who, according to the Saga, accompanied Karlsefne's expedition to Finland in A.D. 1007. Finally, Mr. Schoolcraft submitted a copy of it to Ching-wauk, an intelligent Indian chief, who 'interpreted it as the record of an Indian triumph over some rival native tribe, but without offering any opinion as to its antiquity'."

Lord Avebury then mentions the small oval disk of white sandstone, on which were engraved twenty-two letters, from the "Grave Creek mound;" but adds: "this is now generally admitted to be a fraud;" and he concludes that "there is no reason to suppose that the natives of America had developed for themselves anything corresponding to an alphabet."¹

No! but there is equally no reason for not supposing that they had invented and used conventional signs, which had a meaning for them, like their primitive counterparts in Europe; and that meaning was indifferently a sign of ownership or of Totem family relationships; or, as above, and in the Kivik monument, a pictorial or hieroglyphic representation of some past event. Probably the *order* of invention was as I have given it. The choice of signs for sounds, the true alphabet, was reserved for other races and later times.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that precisely similar marks of an alphabetiform character, and undoubtedly bearing a resemblance to runes, are found

¹ *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 257, 258.

among the tattoo-marks of a present-day savage race, as stated above, it seems more reasonable to conclude that all alike are signs "understood of the people" by whom they were inscribed, and that they were, in the first place, signs of ownership; secondly, totemistic, tribal, and family badges; and, in the third place, most probably signs bearing a magical meaning, than that they were anything in the shape of legible inscriptions; and the resemblances to runes and to the Cretan script will be undesigned coincidences. Hence we conclude that Neolithic man was not acquainted with writing, in the true sense of the word. This is not to say that it is not possible for the Neolithic dolmen-builders of Portugal to have copied signs which were of real alphabetical significance in Cyprus and Crete, and which they came to know through the channels of commerce, and attached their own meaning to them. In just the same way the natives of New Guinea have been known to copy the letters of the English alphabet, without in the least understanding their meaning to us; and to have combined them in a way which may have a magical significance to them, but which do not form the words of their own or of any tongue.

With regard to the drawings, which, unlike the beautifully artistic work of the Palæolithic cave-dwellers, are of the extremest rudeness, resembling the first attempts of children at drawing upon their slates; these, again, are not unknown as relics of the Neolithic Age. Much water has run under the bridges since Prof. Boyd Dawkins wrote his *Early Man in Britain*, in which he said: "Neolithic men have not left behind any well-defined representations of the form either of plants or of animals;" and it is now a well-established fact that men in the Neolithic stage of culture did, and do, make rude attempts at drawing: of which many relics remain besides those found in Portugal. Examples exist from such various localities as Spain (skeleton sketches on pots), Neolithic Libya (rude scrawls), Prehistoric Egypt, and on the hard-wood clubs of Australian blacks.

Dr. Montelius figured a Neolithic drawing of an animal from Sweden, which is reproduced in my "Ornaments of

Jet and Cannel Coal," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, vol. vi, p. 184.

Don Severo speaks of the Portuguese drawings as representing the "extreme decadence of the Palæolithic or Magdalenian art." Considering the fact that nowhere, or only in one locality, has the gap between Palæolithic and Neolithic man been bridged, but that, on the contrary, the former appears to have vanished from the face of Europe before the vanguard of the Neolithic peoples arrived, it is more probable that these rude drawings represent the first beginnings of an entirely new and barbaric art, of which later, though still barbaric, examples are to be found at Halstatt and La Tène, and in the Mycenaean Age of the Eastern Mediterranean; and which was afterwards developed into the glorious art of classic Greece, and has continued unbroken to the present day. Of the art of Palæolithic Man at his worst we have no examples; those examples which we have show him to have been a free, bold, and spirited artist.

I speak thus confidently about the gap between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages, because it is in accordance with the latest views on the subject, advanced by so great a scholar as Dr. Hoernes.

These views agree with what Sir John Evans wrote in 1867, and repeated in 1897, as to Great Britain: "There appears in this country, at all events, to be a great gap between the River Drift and Surface Stone Periods, so far as any intermediate forms of implements are concerned; and here at least the race of men who fabricated the Palæolithic implements may have, and in all probability had, disappeared at an epoch remote from that when the country was again occupied by those who not only chipped but polished their flint tools" (*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 704). In harmony with this view, it was pointed out by Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury, *Prehistoric Times*), that the only race at present existing at all resembling Palæolithic people is the Esquimaux; and we must remember that it was during this gap between the last Glacial Period and the beginning of the Neolithic Age that the British Isles became severed from the Continent, and the so-called

Iberian or Neolithic race of Europe must have come hither across the sea.

In his Second Edition, however (1897), Sir John Evans notes that "several writers have attempted to bridge over this gap, or to show that it does not exist;" and he refers to *Journal Anthro. Inst.*, vol. xxii, p. 66, to Cazalis de Fondouce, to Brown, *Early Man in Midd.*, and to Worthington Smith, *Man, the Prim. Savage*.

He does not, however, refer to M. Piette's discoveries at Mas d'Azil in 1896, except to say of them: "In the cave of the Mas d'Azil was a layer of pebbles with various patterns printed upon them in red. Such pebbles have not as yet been found in any British cave deposits. Some of the designs curiously resemble early alphabetic characters. There is some doubt as to the exact age of the contents of this cave, which not improbably may be Neolithic" (*op. cit.*, p. 485).

If this could be maintained, it might be adduced as an argument in favour of our Portuguese and Clydeside discoveries; it would be further evidence that Neolithic man knew how to write, or, at any rate, had begun to form an alphabet. But M. Piette was very strongly of opinion that there was no gap between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages—at least in France—and he assigned his "finds" to a period and to a race *between* the two, forming a kind of connecting link between them. He said of the characters on the pebbles: "They supply one of the sources of the Phœnician alphabet." If, however, they are alphabetical at all, and not mere signs, they are neither "early" nor "Phœnician," but altogether too late, because they undoubtedly exhibit what are neither Cretan, nor Phœnician, nor Runic characters, but almost perfectly formed *Roman* letters of the latest description, as shown above.

Dr. Hoernes, on the contrary, holds that, though it is possible that man may have continued to exist in the Ariège, for some climatic reason, during the last Glacial Period, there was a "simultaneous gap over the whole of the rest of Europe." His words are: "France is not the whole of Europe . . . and I believe in this gap, and I believe also in another yawning gap" between the

last Glacial Period and the true Neolithic Age"; and he locates the "pebble layer" at Mas d'Azil in the third Inter-glacial Period. His system, which differs from those of Mortillet (followed by Sir John Evans) and Piette, is as follows:—

I. First Glacial Period (Geikie, Pliocene).

1. First Inter-glacial Period: Deposit of Tilloux-Taubach (with *Elephas meridionalis, antiquus* and *primigenius*), or Chelléo-Mousterian.

II. Second Glacial Period: Gap (at least east of France).

2. Second Inter-glacial Period: Mammoth Age, or Solutrian (cave bears, lions, and hyænas).

III. Third Glacial Period: End of the Older Pleistocene Fauna; presence of Arctic animals (reindeer).

3. Third Inter-glacial Period:

- a. Reindeer Age, or Magdalenian, over the whole of Europe.
- b. Stag Age, or Asylian (Tourassian), in Western Europe).

IV. Fourth Glacial Period: Arisian (*étage coquillier*) in Southern France. Simultaneous gap over the rest of Europe.

4. Post-glacial: Neolithic Age.

The pebble layer at Mas d'Azil is located under 3 (b); and of the characters on the pebbles Dr. Hoernes says: "They have a great likeness to well-known later capital letters, engraved on stone;" and continues: "We must also bear in mind the resemblance or identity of individual marks of the transition period with those found upon engraved bones of the Reindeer Age, and of others with those found upon the dolmen slabs; but the *Galets Coloriés* can at present be reconciled with the culture of the old Reindeer Age just as little as with the Neolithic culture, which, when it is correctly placed, exhibits nothing of the kind." This latter remark Dr. Hoernes may see cause to modify, though as to its application

to the matter in hand, I wholly agree with him (Hoernes : *Der Diluviale Mensch in Europa*, pp. 8, 9, 79).

It is noteworthy that in the latest edition of his *Prehistoric Times*, published in 1900, Lord Avebury makes no mention of the "finds" at Mas d'Azil, nor of M. Piette, and consequently misses the opportunity of giving his opinions as to the significance of the *Galets Coloriés*, and as to the continuity of Man from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic Age. Like Sir John Evans, too, he knows of only one Glacial Period, and for him the question of pre-glacial man is an important one. It is for this reason that I have given Dr. Hoernes's views so fully, the first time they have been brought before an English audience, because they so clearly demonstrate that, in his opinion, there were no less than *four* glacial periods in Europe, and that the earliest specimens of the human race ascend to the *first* Inter-glacial Period, immediately after the Pliocene. Of Tertiary Man Dr. Hoernes knows nothing. But although the earlier statements are thus rendered obsolete, the antiquity of man upon the globe is enormous, when one thinks what must have been the duration of these seven periods of alternating cold and heat, immediately before the present condition of things in Europe was ushered in.

To sum up. The evidence which has been adduced in this Paper from all available sources—sources which I have in every case tested by personal investigation—prove incontestably that all the four classes of objects found by Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez in the Portuguese dolmens, of which two and perhaps a third (the alphabetiform signs on the Langbank amulet) are among the "finds" made on the Clyde-side, belong to people in the Neolithic stage of culture: whether in the true Neolithic Age (so-called) of Europe, or to the same Iberian races at a later date, after the Celtic invasions, and the introduction of bronze and even iron into common use—though apparently not by them—and to modern savage peoples in New Guinea, in Africa, in the South Sea Islands, and in Australia. They are the natural product of their life and ideas: a life in which society

was organised on a totemistic basis, and in which hunting, and, in certain localities agriculture, played a large part; and ideas, magical and religious, developed from animism, in which the world was conceived of as ruled by benign and malignant spirits, the former of whom could be propitiated by worship, the latter guarded against by the use of magic, amulets, and charms.

I have brought forward examples from widely-scattered localities, which are universally accounted genuine by the greatest scholars of the age: Mortillet, Montelius, Reinach, Cartailhac, Hoernes; not to mention Dr. Munro himself.

I ask, therefore,—and I think the question is a fair one—if all these which I have mentioned are genuine relics of Neolithic Man, why are the particular finds of Mr. Donnelly and Father Brenha (for these latter, as well as the former, have been pronounced to be spurious by some learned *savants* on the Continent, who have only seen the drawings, just as Dr. Munro pronounced the Clydeside “finds” to be spurious after a hurried and very perfunctory investigation) to be accounted as forgeries or as the work of some practical jokers? Is it too much to ask them to give the grounds of their belief; to point out how the genuineness of certain objects and the spuriousness of others is determined, and at the same time to lay their hands upon those who have fabricated the spurious objects?

All the objects alleged to have been found in the dolmens at Pouca d’Aguiar and on the Clydeside belong to the same order as those of acknowledged Neolithic provenance, and all these acknowledged genuine “finds” make the Portuguese and Clydeside “finds” by no means surprising. They rather prove that these were to be expected, and that they fall in with our previous ideas of what the social and religious condition of Neolithic Man was, even to the script-bearing amulets. If these latter are not genuine, they undoubtedly bear a most remarkable resemblance to admittedly genuine Neolithic relics; and there must either be a conspiracy among scientific men to deceive, or the same scientific forger or forgers must have been at work in Portugal and in Scotland.

I say "scientific," because whoever fabricated these objects must have been thoroughly competent and up-to-date. No ignorant forger could have done it. He, or they, must have been fully acquainted with all the most recent admittedly genuine "finds" and all the latest facts. Now, what scientific men are there who would be capable of thus playing a practical joke of a very aimless and foolish sort upon the scientific world? Surely this is a *reductio ad absurdum*; and, if these "finds" are not genuine, the mystery of their origin remains wrapped in impenetrable darkness until the forgers are brought out into the light of day.

In one instance, that of the Cross found on one of the rocks at Cochno (among others marked with the usual cups and rings, ducts and lines, as well as with footmarks like those found in Australia), which was confidently pronounced a recent fabrication, the discoverer was able to produce a photograph taken some time *previously* to the discoveries being made, which plainly showed the Cross on the rock! As a matter of fact, the Cross is one of the most ancient, most natural, and most universal of symbols; it is found among the signs on the great stones at Newgrange, and also at Dowth, in Ireland, and on prehistoric sites in Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Greece, and elsewhere, and the letters T and X are crosses.

I await, therefore, a triumphant vindication of the Portuguese and Clydeside discoveries, and their admission to an assured place among the evidences of the manner of life, and social, magical, and religious ideas of man in the Neolithic stage of culture, in ancient and modern times. The dolmens in Portugal are in all probability monuments of the Neolithic Age, and of the Iberian Neolithic race. The Clydeside "finds" are in all probability monuments of that same race at a considerably later period: though facts have recently been brought to light which show that they are probably not so late as the "finds" in the Langbank "Crannog" induced me to think possible. What I am now saying applies only to the two pile-structures at Dumbuck and Langbank; the rock-markings in the neighbourhood are, as I have said elsewhere, probably much older. At Langbank, as will

be remembered, two objects, a bone comb and a brooch, were found, which pointed to Roman times: the comb bearing Late-Celtic ornamentation.

It now appears that down to a recent time an island existed in the Clyde, which the process of dredging has caused entirely to disappear. In its disappearance objects of different dates may have become mingled, and thus the relics of Neolithic fisher-folk, dwelling by the riverside, are found alongside of those of their Celtic—or even Romanized—successors. At Dumbuck the relics of these Neolithic folk alone were found, including the great cance, used either in war or in extended expeditions; and these aboriginal inhabitants of the district may possibly have been pursuing their avocations even down to the second century B.C.

The object of this Paper will have been accomplished if it has shown that the hypothesis of fraud and forgery in respect of “finds” which are at first sight unexpected and strange, though not unique, is, where there is good ground for believing in the *bona fides* of the discoverer, more difficult to hold, and more improbable than the hypothesis that they are genuine. Of course, the way is left open for *proof* of fraud, if such can ever be adduced.

Things have come to such a pass, and charges are so recklessly made, that, as Mr. Andrew Lang has said in his inimitable way—and with this I will conclude—“People who dig ought to do so in the presence of a worthy magistrate, a geologist, ten Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Sherlock Holmes, and Mr. Maskelyne, the conjuror. Otherwise, to find anything unexpected is as dangerous to the character as to see a ghost. But there is no safety. I say, for example, that a site which I have found is Neolithic; B, who did not find it, says that it is of the Bronze Age. If I find Neolithic things, B. says I put them there; but if a bronze thing turns up, I am not allowed to say that B. dropped it there, and the same with intent to deceive. The hostile spectator is above the suspicion which falls on that very dubious character, the discoverer. . . . For my part, when in doubt, I hope that discoverers are honest; and the more unexpected the object found, the less likely I deem it to be forged, speaking generally.”

NOTE.

As exemplifying the extreme care shown by Don Ricardo Severo before admitting the account of the discoveries of Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez to the pages of *Portugalia*, I transcribe the following statement from a private letter which I received from him on March 4th, 1904 :—

“From the moment that I observed the discoveries made by the Abbés Brenha and Rodriguez, I imposed upon myself the utmost reserve. I visited the necropolitan dolmens of Traz-os-montes, to submit them *in loco* to a rigorous archæological and petrographic investigation, and submitted all the specimens to a methodical analysis. I also had them examined by some colleagues skilled in archæology and mineralogy. It was only after this minute investigation, and at the end of four years, that I decided to accept the report of Abbé Brenha in my Review, and I accompanied it with my Commentary, in which I express my reservations, while admitting at the same time the clear marks of authenticity which almost all the specimens in the Brenha and Rodriguez collection exhibit.”

And he continues :—“The question of forgery or of mystification habitually arises in respect of discoveries, the strange novelty of which shakes the established dogmas or principles of science. Scientific criticism must necessarily exercise such praiseworthy circumspection; and I remember well the polemics roused by the first discoveries of engraved bones, down to those as to the engravings and paintings on the roof of the grotto of Altamira and others, now admitted to be perfectly genuine. As my Review is intended to fulfil the purpose of ‘collecting materials for the study of the Portuguese people,’ I considered I ought not to refuse the publication of these interesting discoveries, and I judged them worthy the attention and study of specialists, on account of the palæo-ethnographic interest and value of all these materials.”





TREASURE TROVE :

WITH REFERENCE TO THE CASE OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL
v. THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P.

(Read December 16th, 1903).



THE interesting and much-vexed question of the wisdom of the present law relating to Treasure Trove, which has from time to time found expression more particularly among antiquaries, has recently attracted fresh attention from the proceedings taken by the Attorney-General on behalf of the Crown against the Trustees of the British Museum, to establish the title of the Crown to certain articles discovered in the county of Londonderry, in Ireland, as Treasure Trove.

So far as our Society is concerned, the subject of Treasure Trove has been dealt with on three separate occasions : (1) by Mr. George Vere Irvine, in a sketch of the history of the law and the then practice in carrying it out both in England and Scotland ; a statement of the evils which he suggested resulted from this ; and the remedies he proposed. (2) "Notes on Treasure Trove," by Robert Temple, Esq., Chief Justice of Honduras (both of which papers are published in vol. xv. of our *Journal* (1859) ; and (3) by Mr. George Wright, on the "Hardships of the Laws relating to Treasure Trove, with a View to their Modification," a notice of which appears in vol. xxxvii. of our *Journal*, page 84, where it is stated that the paper will be given in a subsequent part of the *Journal* ; but, after careful search, I can find no trace of its having been published, or of the discussion

which arose on its being read. Mr. George Wright also drew attention to what he called the barbarous law of Treasure Trove in commenting on Mr. Tom Burgess' paper on the "Ancient Encampments of the Malverns," at our Malvern Congress in 1881; to which Mr. Burgess, in reply, said that he had been a victim of this law: for the silver and gold ornaments found in a Saxon lady's grave were required by the Treasury authorities.¹

Hitherto, attention has only been drawn to this subject from time to time, when any discoveries have been made, either of special intrinsic value, or from their antiquarian interest; and when the opinions of those more immediately concerned have found expression, the Royal Prerogative has been asserted and the controversy forgotten; but the recent proceedings taken by the Attorney-General afford a favourable opportunity of reviewing the law relating to the Royal Prerogative, with the aid of what will in future be a leading case on this subject.

The circumstances under which the discovery was made are thus stated by Mr. Justice Farwell, sitting as a Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court, on June 20th last [1903]:—

"In the month of February, 1896, two ploughmen were driving a furrow in a field belonging to a Mr. Gibson, near Limavady, and on the shores of Lough Foyle; the leader with a 6-in. plough and the second man with a 14-in. plough. The latter struck something hard at the bottom of the furrow, and he found certain gold articles all lying together in a space of about 9 ins. square. The articles consisted of (1) a hollow collar, with *repoussé* ornaments; (2) a model boat, with thwarts, and a number of oars, spars, etc.; (3) a bowl, with four small rings at the edges; (4) a solid gold torque; (5) one-half of a similar torque; (6) a necklace, consisting of three plaited chains with fastenings; and (7) a single chain. The two last were found inside the hollow collar. The oars were much bent, and were inside the bowl, which was flattened, and the boat was crumpled up. The ploughman took the articles to his master, and they were

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxviii, p. 85.

sent to the factory of Messrs. Johnson, in Grafton Street, who restored them to the shape in which they were shown in court. They are articles of great interest and beauty, of Celtic origin, the dates suggested for their manufacture being from 300 B.C. to 600 or 700 A.D." [But the Judge thought] "they might fairly be attributed to the second or third century after Christ. Ultimately they were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, and are now claimed by the Crown as Treasure Trove by virtue of the Royal Prerogative."

The ground on which the articles were found is part of the territories granted originally to the Society of the Governors and Assistants of London of the New Plantation of Ulster, known as the Irish Society, by the charter of King James I, dated March 29th, 1613, on the settlement of Ulster after the Rebellion. The twelve chief City Companies of London (including the Fishmongers' Company) agreed to contribute to the funds required by the Irish Society for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of this charter, and it was agreed that portions of the towns and lands granted by the charter should be divided amongst the City Companies; and in 1618 the Irish Society, for valuable consideration, granted to the Fishmongers' Company a portion, including the land where the articles in question were found, with "the liberties and privileges belonging or appertaining or reputed as belonging thereto." In 1638, proceedings were taken for the purpose of cancelling this charter; and ultimately King Charles II granted a new charter to the Irish Society, dated April 10th, 1662, vesting in them the city, fort, and town of Derry, and all the lands, royalties and privileges, formerly granted to them, including the franchises, liberties, privileges and profits, and all other appurtenances, in as full terms as could be used, with the exception, *eo nomine*, of the words "Treasure Trove."

The Trustees of the British Museum, by their pleadings, relied on the charters of James I and Charles II, and contended that the grants thereby made included the right of Treasure Trove, and that such rights also passed by the grant to the Fishmongers' Company: that the defendants

purchased the ornaments openly and in good faith, on behalf of the British Museum, after they had been exhibited at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, on January 14th, 1897, by Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., who had acquired them by purchase. An account of this meeting appeared in the *Athenæum* newspaper of January 30th, 1897, and the purchase by the defendants was made some months afterwards. The defendants are bound by Statute to preserve for public use to all posterity the articles in their collection, with certain exceptions not affecting the said ornaments.

Mr. Arthur Evans, F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, read a paper at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries before-mentioned,¹ on the articles exhibited by Mr. Day, which was embodied in a deposition which he made in support of the defendant's case, in which he arrived at the conclusion that the articles constituted a votive offering. He scouted the idea that the boat necessarily implied a Viking origin: in form and details it was purely Celtic, and the circumstances all pointed to the conclusion that it was a thank-offering vowed to some marine divinity, by an ancient Irish seaking who had escaped from the perils of the waves. "It might well have been dedicated to the Celtic Neptune, Nuada Necht, the British Nodens, whose temple, with illustration of his marine attributes, had been discovered at Lydney, and whose name, in its Welsh form "Lud," still survived as associated with the Port of London, in Ludgate Hill."

Thus it will be seen that two distinct issues were raised by the pleadings: (1) Were the articles found Treasure Trove? (2) Did they pass by the charters to the Fishmongers' Company, and through them to the British Museum?

Before referring to the arguments of counsel on either side, and to the operative part of the Judges decision, it will be well to state shortly the nature and origin of Treasure Trove as laid down by the authorities.

The chief of these are the definition given by Sir

¹ Published in vol. lv, p. 2, No. 17, *Archæologia*.

Edward Coke, in his *Third Institute and his Explanation*,¹ as follows :—

“When any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property, it doth belong to the King or to some lord or other by the King’s grant or prescription.

“The reason wherefore it belongeth to the King is a rule of the Common Law: that such goods whereof no person can claim property belong to the King, ‘Quod non capit Christus capit Fiscus.’ It is anciently called *Fyndaringar* of finding the Treasure.

“If it be of any other metal it is no treasure: and if it be no treasure, it belongs not to the King, for it must be treasure trove.

“Whether it be of ancient time hidden in the ground or in the roof or walls, or other part of a castle, house, building, ruins or elsewhere so as the owner cannot be known.

“For it is a certain rule, ‘Quod thesaurus non competit regi nisi quando nemo scit qui abscondit² thesaurum’.”

[Of ancient time hidden]. “Est autem thesaurus — Vetus depositio pecuniæ, &c., cujus non extat modo memoria adeo ut jam dominum non habeat.”

[Belong to the King]. “Where of ancient time it belonged to the finder as by the ancient authorities it appeareth. And yet I find that before the Conquest ‘Thesauri de terra domini regis sunt nisi in Ecclesia vel Cemeterio inveniantur; et licet ibi inveniantur aurum regis est, et medietas argenti est medietas ecclesiæ ubi inventum fuerit, quæcunque ipsa fuerit vel dives vel pauper’.”

Sir William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*,³ gives a similar definition as to the requisites of hiding and the absence of any known owner; and adds, by way of illustration: “Also if it be found in the sea or upon the earth, it doth not belong to the King but the finder if no owner appears. So that it appears that it is the hiding, and not the abandonment of it that gives the King a property.”

Mr. Chitty, on “Prerogative,” p. 152, after defining the rights attached to Treasure Trove in similar terms to

¹ Pp. 132, 133, Sixth Edition, 1680.

² “Abscondere” means simply “to hide,” or, as Dr. Smith in his *Dictionary* says: “To put away together; lay by; secrete.” There is no suggestion of a felonious hiding as is implied in the Anglicised form “abscond.”

³ Vol. i, Stewart’s Ed., pp. 307 and 308, and Stephen’s *Commentaries*, 4th Ed., vol. ii, B 4, Part i, p. 532.

the above, adds: "If the owner instead of hiding the treasure, casually lost it, or purposely parted with it, in such a manner that it is evident he intended to abandon the property altogether, and did not purpose to assume it on another occasion: as if he threw it on the ground, or other public place, or in the sea, the first finder is entitled to the property, as against every one but the owner, and the King's prerogative does not in this respect obtain."

The Attorney-General (Sir R. B. Finlay), in opening the case for the Crown, said that the fact that all the articles were found close together in a narrow space clearly showed that they had been placed there for concealment, and thus came within Coke's definition of Treasure Trove. Before dealing with the charters which had been pleaded, he dealt with two suggestions which had been put forward: one being that the sea formerly flowed over the place where the articles had been found, and that they might have come from a wreck. He did not understand that this would be seriously pressed.¹ The other suggestion was that the articles had been deposited as votive offerings to some heathen deity; and he claimed that, whether they were so deposited or not, they were none the less Treasure Trove. He then dealt with the plea that the charters and the grant to the Fishmongers' Company included the Crown's right to Treasure Trove. This he opposed on two grounds. That the Trustees of the British Museum could have no title under the Company, and that the right to Treasure Trove did not pass to the Company, the specific term "Treasure Trove" not being used, and that none of the other terms employed would include it. In answer to a question by the Judge, whether it was necessary to prove concealment, the Attorney-General replied that, if the articles were found altogether a short depth from the surface of the soil, and so placed as to indicate that they were put there by some one, the necessary inference was that they were Treasure Trove; and he called the ploughman who gave evidence as to the position in which the articles

¹ Nor was it.

were found; who, on cross-examination, said he found no trace of wood or cloth. Both the bowl and the boat were flattened. Shells were turned up by the plough in that field similar to the shells on the shore of Lough Foyle.

Mr. Warmington, K.C., in opening the case for the British Museum, referred to Blackstone's definition as set out in Stephen's *Commentaries*, and said their case was not a case of abandonment, but a case of a votive offering made to a deity. In comparatively recent times there had been an upheaval of land formerly covered with water in this and other localities; and it was a well-known custom of the ancients to place votive offerings in the water to propitiate the water deities. They contended that these articles were so placed in the water, and that the spot where they rested afterwards became dry land.¹

¹ The reference to shells in the ploughman's evidence appears in the first instance confirmatory of Mr. Warmington's contention; but in the Royal Society's publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 314 [1703 to 1712], there is a Paper by the Archbishop of Dublin (Archbishop King, Bishop of Derry, 25th January, 1690-91; translated to Dublin, 1703-4, died 8th May, 1729), "On the Manner of Manuring Land with Sea-shells, in the Counties of Londonderry and Donegal." He says: "About the seashore, the great manure is shells; towards the eastern part of the Bay of Londonderry, commonly called Lough Foyle, lie several eminences that hardly appear at low water. These consist of shells of sea fish of all sorts, more particularly of periwinkles, cockles, limpets, etc." . . .

"On digging a foot or two deep about the Bay of Londonderry, it yields shells, and whole banks are made up of them. I observed in a place near Newtown Lannavady, about two miles from the sea, a bed of shells, such as lie on the strand. The place was covered with a scurf of wet spouty earth, about a foot thick."

"It is certain that Ireland has formerly been better inhabited than it is at present. Mountains that now are covered with bogs have formerly been ploughed: for, on digging five or six feet deep, they discover a proper soil for vegetables, and find it ploughed into ridges and furrows. This has been observed in the counties of Londonderry and Donegal. A plough was found in a very deep bog in the latter, and a hedge, with wattles standing, under a bog that was five or six feet above it.

. . . "There are few places which do not—visibly when the bog is removed—show marks of the plough, which must prove that the country was well inhabited. It is likely that the Danes first, and then

This contention was supported by the evidence of Mr. J. L. Myers, student and tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, and lecturer in Classical Archæology in the University, and by the deposition of Mr. Arthur Evans, before alluded to. "He could not imagine that anyone could have the idea that the articles formed part of the treasury of a monastery; and considered it improbable that they might have been stolen and hidden by a robber. He did not look on the boat or bowl as works of art." Mr. McCausland Stewart, an engineer, and Professor Edward Hull, F.R.S.—the latter of whom was formerly director of the Geological Survey of Ireland—gave evidence that the spot where the articles were found was part of what was known to geologists as a raised beach, which began to be formed about the fourth century A.D., and was now about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above ordinary high-water mark.

Mr. Wallace, an employé of Mr. Johnson, the Dublin jeweller, said that when Mr. Day brought the articles to him to be repaired, the collar was flattened. The boat was crumpled up like a bit of paper, and he did not know what it was until it was restored to its original shape. The bowl was in even a worse condition. There was reddish sand in all the articles, and no mutilation.

The Attorney-General called Dr. Munro, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Mr. George Coffee, Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy and Keeper of Antiquities in the National Museum in Dublin, in opposition to the theory that the articles were a votive offering. In answer to the Judge's desire for evidence of the existence of a water-deity in the north of Ireland to whom votive offerings was made, or whether the ancient Irish had any sea-god, Mr. L. Horton Smith, as *amicus curiæ*, referred to Brash's ogam-inscribed monuments of the Gaedhil, in the British Islands, as showing the existence of a water-deity amongst the pre-Christian

the English, destroyed the natives; and the old woods seem to be about three or four thousand years standing, which was near the time that Courcey and the English subdued the north of Ireland; and, it is likely, made havoc of the people that remained after the Danes were driven out of Ireland."

inhabitants of ancient Ireland, viz., Mananan Mac Lir, the god of the sea.

Mr. Cochrane, a Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, stated that gold articles had been found in Clare and near Drogheda in the middle of last century, but they were connected with the Christian era. It was known historically that a number of shrines existed near Lough Foyle, which contained gold and silver articles. These were plundered from time to time. There was a church founded by St. Columba in the parish where the find was made.

Mr. Kilroe, of the Irish Geological Survey; Mr. R. L. Praeger, who had made a special study of the raised beach on Lough Foyle; and Mr. Cole, Professor of Geology in the Dublin College of Science, all said that, in their opinion, the raised beach had been formed before the Christian era.

This closed the evidence, and the Judge reserved judgment, which he delivered on June 20th last [1903].

After stating the circumstances of the discovery, as before mentioned, and adopting Mr. Chitty's definition of Treasure Trove, his Lordship proceeded: "So that it is the hiding and not the abandonment of the property that entitles the king to it. It is clear from the very terms of the definition that no direct evidence can be given of the intention to hide, or the intention to abandon, by a person who is *ex hypothesi* unknown. The direct evidence must necessarily be confined to the discovery of articles in fact concealed, and the Court must presume the intention to hide or to abandon from the relevant surrounding circumstances, and the motives that usually influence persons acting under such circumstances, according to the ordinary dictates of human nature. In the present case the articles were obviously of considerable value, but of a miscellaneous nature, such as might well represent the store of a native chief, or the spoils gathered in the raid of some Norse pirate. The articles were all put close together, the chains being actually concealed within the hollow of the collar, in the mode which a person hiding them for safety, with a view of returning to reclaim them, would be likely to adopt. Their value renders it

improbable that they would be abandoned except under stress of imminent danger; and the care with which the chains were put inside the collar, and all the articles were collected together, point to the absence of any such imminent danger as would necessitate abandonment. The inference, therefore, is that they were intentionally concealed for the purpose of security. There is no evidence at all as to the date of concealment; but the state of Ulster, from the beginning of its history down to comparatively modern times, has been such as to render it highly probable that treasure would have been concealed on many occasions; and in this very district there is record of a great invasion of Norsemen, who overran the land comprising this spot about the year 850 A.D. The inference, therefore, appears irresistible that this was *Vetus depositio*, unless the defendants can displace it. Mr. Warmington agreed that it would be enough for him to show any other plausible theory. I do not agree with him. The Crown must first prove a *prima facie* case; but, when they have done so, the defendants must defeat that title by producing a better title. But, in my opinion, the defendants' theory is not even plausible.

The whole of their evidence on these points is of the vaguest description, and I find as follows: (1) There is no evidence to show that the sea ever flowed over the spot in question, within any period during which the articles could have been in existence; it is not disputed that the raised beech on which the spot is situated is of later origin by upheaval than the surrounding land; but there is nothing to show that it was raised at any time since the Iron Age began; and, so far as I can see, it may have been at any time between 2000 or so B.C., and some time before the beginning of the Christian era. (2) There is nothing to show that votive offerings of the sort suggested were ever made in Ireland. There is no such consensus of expert opinion as would enable me to find that such offerings have ever been made in Europe since the Bronze Age. There is no case known of a votive offering anywhere of a ship coupled with other miscellaneous articles; and there is no case on record of any votive offering having ever been made in Ireland at any

time. (3) Notwithstanding the passage in Brash, it is by no means certain that there was any Irish sea-god at all; (4) or that there were any Irish sea-kings or chiefs who made offerings to a sea-god, if any such god there were.

The Judge then dwelt on the improbability of anyone making an offering to a pagan deity concealing two of his gifts in the hollow of a third; nor would the donor mutilate some only of the objects.

"Mutilation would either be essential or an insult, and one would therefore expect to find all or none mutilated. Again, by virtue of what process have all these articles of such different sizes, weights, and shapes been kept together during all these years under the whelming tide? What magic bag had the Irish sea-king which would withstand the action of the waves, until the ornaments confided to its care found a safe resting-place in the soil formed on the surface of the beach when the sea receded? It was perhaps natural that the defendants should grasp at theories which, in justice to them, I may say were not invented for the purpose of this defence; but it is really little short of extravagant to ask the Court to assume the existence of a votive offering of a sort hitherto unknown, in a sea not known to have existed for 2000—and possibly 4000—years, to a sea-god by a chieftain equally unknown; and to prefer this to the commonplace but natural inference that these articles were a hoard hidden for safety in a land disturbed by frequent raids, and forgotten by reason of the death or slavery of the depositor. It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention that my observations as to votive offerings are confined to votive offerings of the character suggested by the defendants, and have nothing to do with votive offerings in Christian churches, or with offerings to wells and fountains, of which many instances are collected in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 259, and onwards."

The Judge then dealt with the point that the right to Treasure Trove was granted by the Charter of Charles II to the Irish Society, and that the Crown had therefore no title. This he decided in the negative, on the ground that the charter did not contain the words "Treasure Trove," and that it could not pass under the general terms of royalties or franchises; and he gave a very clear and valuable explanation of these terms from a legal point of view, but not upon any archæological grounds.

The result of the judgment was a declaration that the

articles in question were Treasure Trove belonging to his Majesty, by virtue of the Prerogative Royal ; and an order to deliver up the same was accordingly made.¹

The view taken by the learned Judge rendered it unnecessary for him to express any opinion on the further point taken by the Attorney-General, that votive offerings might be Treasure Trove. This point and others which were raised, of a strictly legal feature, are therefore still open to contention in the event of any case arising in which they may be involved ; but from the confirmation given by this judgment to the old definitions of Treasure Trove, it seems hardly possible to contend that such a votive offering, prior to the Christian era, as is contemplated by the judgment of Mr. Justice Farwell, could be treated otherwise than as an abandonment by the owner ; though subsequently to that period a votive offering to a Christian shrine being given to persons having the custody of the shrine might vest in them an ownership which, on the destruction of the shrine and the loss of any trace of the then owner, would on discovery in later times bring the find within the rules of Treasure Trove ; and in the case of sepulchral interments it can scarcely be considered that the depositor of the treasure contemplated resumption of the deposit, involving as it would an act of sacrilege ; and that he must therefore be treated as having abandoned his ownership, notwithstanding the action of the Treasury in the case of Mr. Tom. Burgess before mentioned.

On the 8th July last (1903), Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, in reply to a question, informed the House of Commons that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to express his wish that the ornaments recovered should be presented as a free gift to the Treasury of the Irish Academy ; and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had accordingly given instructions that effect should be given at once to his Majesty's wishes.

¹ I am indebted to the report of this case in *The Times Law Reports*, No. 27, vol. xix, pp. 537 to 560, for the facts above stated.





SAINT CHRISTOPHER

AND SOME

REPRESENTATIONS OF HIM IN ENGLISH CHURCHES.

By MRS. COLLIER.



IT was something of a surprise to me when my attention was attracted to this subject, to find that St. Christopher may claim the distinction of being more frequently represented in cathedrals, abbeys, and churches in this country than any other saint, excepting only St. Mary the Virgin. The gigantic hero of the familiar legend meets the eye on many a wall in parish and city church in every part of England: often, it must be admitted, in a dilapidated and partially destroyed condition, but unmistakable in character and identity. As far as I have been able to discover, there are as many as 183 representations of the subject known to have existed in various parts of the country, chiefly as wall paintings; and though some of these have perished, or been covered, the greater part remain in more or less fair preservation. It may be conjectured that even yet many churches, which are still encumbered with the plaster of Protestant zeal, have the concealed picture of this popular saint waiting to be restored to view. In recent years the value of wall paintings as evidences of the state of national work in art, and their influence on the thought and religious belief of the people, has made them especially interesting to the student of antiquarian taste. References to many discoveries of these survivals of pre-Reformation times are to be found in the journals and periodicals of historical and archæological societies. Encouragement has thus

been given to research in this direction ; but it has been often foiled (strangely enough in these days of restoration and reproduction of mediæval art) ; by the not-unusual instances where mural paintings, after being uncovered for the edification of the student of past ages, have been demolished or concealed by coats of whitewash, to suit the prejudice of a patron or rector of ultra-evangelical views. It is regrettable that in other cases the indistinct remains of these paintings have by well-intentioned but ill-advised attempts at restoration been permanently injured, the original work lost behind the modern imitations ; so that between negligence and mistaken zeal, much has been irreparably injured if not altogether destroyed. I believe it is a fact that some mural decoration was attempted in almost every church during the Middle Ages ; in most cases after the Norman conquest, figures of saints, groups and scenes from sacred and legendary lore, were introduced : the representations being a varied epitome of the religious faith, the symbolical designs, and the superstitions of the nation and period. At the Reformation most of these were hidden from sight by the use of whitewash ; doubtless the simplest way of concealing what were then condemned as idolatrous objects, and in many cases scripture texts or moral maxims were substituted. It was only when the modern revival influenced the taste for restoration of Gothic art that numerous instances of these curious survivals were exposed to view, throwing much light, and adding to our information as to the beliefs and mode of worship of our ancestors. The present inquiry is, however, limited to only one of the many subjects delineated : which, however, is not inferior in interest, and offers as much matter for discussion as any that remain to exercise the judgment and awake the conjectures of present-day students. We will commence by examining the history, authentic and apocryphal, of St. Christopher, and proceed to inquire into the reasons for the extraordinary popularity to which, after an interval of centuries wherein he was treated with comparative neglect, he attained at a long subsequent period after his death.

The Christopher known to history might be dismissed

in a short paragraph, as one of the many whose life and martyrdom had little effect on his own times and faith. According to the account given in *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, etc.*, by the Rev. Alban Butler, wherein he quotes Baronius, the Mosarabic Breviary, and Pinius the Bollandist, Christopher was a native of Palestine or Syria, a man gigantic in stature and of formidable strength. He suffered martyrdom under Decius in Lycia. He seems to have taken the name of Christopher (literally, Bearer of Christ) to express his ardent love for the Saviour, whereby he always bore Him in his heart as his great and only good, his inestimable treasure, and object of all his affections and faith. The same authority states that : "his relicks were removed to Toledo, and then to France, where they were enshrined at St. Denys, and for many centuries shown to the worshippers in that celebrated abbey." Another account states that he was baptised by St. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, and received the crown of martyrdom in the third century. St. Gregory the Great (sixth century) mentions a monastery in Sicily which bore the name of St. Christopher. The above bare and dry statements are about all that history records of the Saint. Nor does it appear that he made much impression on his contemporaries or succeeding generations, until we come to the monkish legends of mediæval ages, when various versions are to be found in manuscript collections and early printed volumes still extant.

In the *Golden Legend*, called by Walton an inexhaustible repository of religious fable, which was written in Latin in the thirteenth century, translated into French in the next century, and from the French into English, and was printed by Caxton, the Legend of St. Christopher appears with very circumstantial details, and fully garnished with supernatural and apocryphal attributes. According to this ancient work, the name of the Saint was originally Reprobis, and it was not till after his conversion and numerous adventures that he was baptised, and took the name of Christopher. The Legend lays stress on his enormous height, and terrible and fearful appearance and countenance. It must be admitted

that the existing representations of the Saint are calculated to bear out the statement. The story is told at great length in the *Golden Legend*. It will suffice here to give the substance of one of the most picturesque of the traditions which in the Middle Ages took hold of the popular imagination ; and, repeated from generation to generation, became a fruitful source of inspiration to the artists and sculptors of Christendom.

The author of the *Golden Legend* states that Reprobus was of the lineage of the Canaanites. It came into his mind to serve the greatest Prince in the world, whom he sought, and after far journeying heard of one who was of great renown, and so took service in his court ; but finding this king was in terror of the name of the Devil, and made the sign of the Cross when he was mentioned, Reprobus decided that there must be one greater than this "kynge," and thence departed to seek him. He next came upon a great and cruel knight, who acknowledged himself to be the Devil, and accordingly the future Saint took service under him ; but was greatly disappointed when at a roadside Cross his new master trembled and fled, having to get back to the road by a roundabout and awkward track. Thereupon, as the Devil confessed to his fear of the Cross and of Christ, Reprobus departed from him to seek the Master ; and now in a desert he meets a hermit, who dwelt there, and who instructed him in the faith and baptised him ; though it is not clear whether he then took the name of Christopher, which would be symbolical of his future adventure, the result of a penance by which he undertook to convey pilgrims across a dangerous river, in which many had been lost. It was, according to the Legend, many days that he abode on the borders of the stream, and bore many pilgrims in safety, having a great pole in his hand instead of a staff, by which he sustained himself in the water, and being very strong in his members. At last, one night when he had gone to rest, he heard the weak voice of a child calling to him, and begging to be taken across. Christopher ran out, and though at first he could see no one, at the third call he found the child, lifted him on his shoulder and entered the river, which thereupon rose and

swelled more and more. The child became heavy as lead, the water increased and grew stormy, and Christopher in agony feared to be drowned, but escaped with great pain ; and setting the child on the ground, he said : " Child, thou hast put me in great peril : if I had had the whole world upon me, it might be no greater burden ; " and the Child answered : " Christopher, marvel nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast



Wall Painting in the Church of Wilsford and Lake, Wilts.

borne Him that made and created the world on thy shoulders : I am Christ, the King whom thou servest in this world." The Legend goes on to say that Christopher planted his staff in the earth, and prayed that to convert the people it might bear flowers and fruit, which indeed took place : the staff became a palm tree, with fruit and leaves, and was the means of converting 8,000 men in the province of Lycia ! The king of that country, however, commanded that the Saint should be seized, and shot by poisoned arrows. One of these rebounded,

and wounded his persecutor, Dagmar the Prefect, entering his eye; whereupon Christopher, who was miraculously uninjured, predicted that after his death by decapitation, his blood would heal this enemy's wound. He then submitted to martyrdom, and the



From a Cut in an old copy of the *Golden Legend*, early Black Letter.

Prefect was healed in the manner he had desired. The king was converted, and commanded that if anyone ever blamed God or St. Christopher, he should be slain with the sword. His miracles were recognised by the Church, and the Saint's relics are found in several places, especially in Spain. The above is condensed from the version given

in the *Golden Legend*; and the drawing I have taken from the illustration, a woodcut in the old copy preserved in the Cathedral Library of Salisbury, and which is printed in black letter, but is imperfect, without date or name of printer.¹

The theory has been suggested that the ancient pictures were primarily symbolical, and represented the Cross personified; or, as some authorities have with more reason maintained, they were intended to show the disciple of Christ, who will bear Him over the billows of resistance, relying on the staff of his direction, and so passing over the waters of Jordan. Or, it has again been explained that the Christian is thus represented as one who will submit his shoulders to Christ; and shall, by the concurrence of his increase into the strength of a giant, and being supported by the staff of His holy spirit, shall not be overwhelmed by the waves of the world, but wade through all resistance (Pierius, Browne, Jeremy Collier, and others).

It may be observed that the hypothesis which suggests that the Legend of St. Christopher was probably due to his name being, in process of time, connected or confounded with the earlier symbolism of a personified Cross, receives some colour owing to the word "Cristofri" having been commonly used to denote the cross worn on the breast by the knight, squire, or even yeoman, before the decorations of the Order of Knighthood received that form of recognition as a sign of caste or chivalry.

Chaucer, speaking of the Yeoman in attendance on the

¹ In the *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, by the Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL.D., at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the following short version of the subject is given under the heading "Christopher":—"The Giant carried a child over a brook, and said: 'Chylde, thou hast put me in great perill. I might bear no greater burden;' to which the Child answered: 'Marvel nothing, for thou hast borne all the worlde upon thee, and its sins likewise.'" This is an allegory: i.e., Jesus Christ, the child, is the offspring of Adam; the river is death; the Saint is called a giant because the Redeemer was equal to so great a burden. Christopher means "Cross-bearer." In this connection, it should be mentioned that some later writers have come to the conclusion that this legend, so widely spread in Christendom, was originally founded on an allegory, and that St. Christopher, the Lycian martyr, was only identified with it in the lapse of time, on account of his name.

Squire in the *Canterbury Tales*, says: "A Cristofre on his brest of silver shene" (or "shone," in modern language). The name given is suggestive, being an allusion to the peculiar office of the sacred Cross as the Christ-bearer. It would be interesting to discover where and at what period the earliest legends and pictures or statues were recognised as representing the Saint and Martyr, rather than as typical emblems of the Cross or Christian in the earlier symbolic sense.¹

It does not appear, however, that the Saint was known to fame, or of any consideration in the Church, until the original emblematic subjects, expressive of the Cross and the Christian pilgrim, had become through the lapse of time and the accretion of legend with history, connected with the name of Christopher, and, as a consequence, with his supposed miraculous experiences.

However the change came about, it is very certain that in this country the legend and miraculous power of the Saint were not recognised by the Church until about the thirteenth century. As soon, however, as mural paintings became a feature in the internal decoration of churches, the story of St. Christopher takes its place very prominently everywhere, and remains are to be found of a very early period of this subject, though it was not until the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries that he reached the height of his popularity, surpassing St. George, the Patron Saint of the land; so that it is conjectured that every church in England possessed a figure, either in painting or sculpture, of this Saint. It has struck me as curious, nevertheless, that there do not appear to be any

¹ On the Continent, some very ancient statues are known to have been recognised as the Saint. They were usually of colossal stature, and stood at the entrance of churches. One of them was formerly on the right hand of the principal gate of Nôtre Dame at Paris, as stated by Browne, and the author of the *French Historical Dictionary*. Wright, also, author of *Observations made in Travelling through France, Italy, etc.*, a work published in 1730, notes "a monstrous stone figure of St. Christopher at the Church of Nôtre Dame de Paris rather amazes than pleases: 'tis about ten yards in height." Pennant notes a still larger statue at Auxerre, nearly 70 ft. high. In all probability these figures were of much earlier date than any of the representations remaining in our English churches.

churches actually dedicated to St. Christopher.¹ This shows, perhaps, that as a personality he had not in early Christian times the renown or consideration rendered to him which his name, and the miraculous powers later accredited to him, induced the Church and the faithful to yield to him. Very obscure or merely local Saints, with names strange and little known to later times, are commemorated in various parts of the country in the dedication of churches. It seems evident, therefore, that the cult of St. Christopher was not much known in the land until after churches were built and dedicated to their patron saints, amongst whom he was as yet unrecognised; nor does it appear that St. Christopher was included in the Calendar of Saints in England. The earliest notice of the Saint we have been able to find is an order for a painting of St. Christopher, to be executed in the Chapel of St. Peter within the Tower (of London), which is entered in the Court Rolls of the reign of Henry III. Walpole quotes the following record concerning a painting of St. Christopher of the year 1248: "The King to the Sheriff of Southampton, Greeting. We charge you concerning the business of your Company that you cause to be painted in the Queen's Chapel at Winchester, over the Eastern Arch, the Image of the blessed St. Christopher as he is in Churches depicted bearing Christ in his arms; and the likeness of the blessed King Edward giving his ring to the pilgrims, as his likeness is similarly depicted.

"Witnessed under the King's Seal at Windsor, 7th May."

If, at this early date, St. Christopher was but entering into his heritage of fame in England, it certainly was not long before he became at least one of the most appreciated and most universally popular of the saints and benefactors of the country. Let us examine into the causes of his popularity, and the probable origin of the powers attributed to him. Very early in the Latin Church, the Cross itself had been looked upon as a protection from the powers of evil. The Devil

¹ I have since heard of two churches, now destroyed, one in the City of London.

and his angels were driven away by the presentation of the sign of the triumph of Christianity. Hence the many stories which record the discomfiture of Satan, and the escape of his legitimate prey, at the mere elevation or exposure of the sacred symbol. The idea is carried out in the primary signification of the crosses which adorned the summits of all sacred—and many secular—buildings. Many edifices, indeed, were made to bristle with crosses: not one alone as a symbol of faith, but many at each point of vantage, to fortify the place and the worshippers against the assaults and powers of the Evil One. It was supposed that the fiend, conscious of the victory obtained over him on the Cross, was bound to fly from that Cross—instrument of the salvation of man and of his own subjection. The storms, earthquakes, plagues, and other calamities were considered as the work of the Devil, and were to be combated and conquered by the agency of the symbolical Cross. It was not improbable that the Bearer of Christ should, in process of time, become the personified representative of this symbol. Thus, he might be accredited with the properties with which the Cross was invested. He became the protector against evil, and the dangers to which mankind are exposed; and from this point it would not be far to arrive at the superstitious belief that anyone who looked on St. Christopher's picture or image would be secure from a violent death, during at least that day. Accordingly, verses expressing that belief are to be found frequently on a scroll above or below his picture; and for the same reason his portraits or statues were placed prominently at, or opposite, the entrance of a church, or sometimes on a pillar facing the principal doorway, so that a passer-by might see, and benefit accordingly.

In an old edition of the *Praise of Folly*, a translation of the Satire by Erasmus called *Moriae Encomium*, the following passage occurs: "Among the regiment of fools are such as make a trade of telling or inquiring after incredible stories of miracles and prodigies: and these absurdities do not only bring an empty pleasure and cheap divertisement, but they are a good trade and

procure a comfortable income to such priests and friars as by this craft get their gain. To such again are nearly related others who attribute strange virtues to the shrines and images of martyrs and saints; and so would make their credulous proselytes believe that, if they pay their devotions to St. Christopher in the morning, they shall be guarded and secured the day following from all danger and misfortune." This translation by Bishop Kent is — illustrated by woodcuts from the designs of Hans Holbein; and in illustration of the above quotation, there is a representation of a pilgrim or traveller, with his hands clasped, addressing a prayer to St. Christopher, as shown in a picture suspended on the wall: the Saint as usual bearing the Infant Christ on his shoulder. Hence it is very plain that St. Christopher owed his popularity to the miraculous safeguard which he was supposed to give to the faithful who applied to him for his protection. But the Saint was also credited with a special power to preserve his votaries from epidemics, earthquakes, lightning, fires, storms, sudden death, disasters, and revolutions.

It is not surprising that, with such a catalogue of misfortunes driven away by the intervention of the Saint, his powers only required to be generally known to be universally appreciated. Consequently, he presently became the first favourite among the pictured hierarchy, and by the fifteenth century his representations were the most conspicuous in all the paintings of that period. In proof of his supremacy it may be mentioned, that many of the more ancient wall-paintings representing other subjects have been actually concealed and covered by pictures of St. Christopher of a later date. The glorification of the Saint continued unabated till the wave of the Reformation engulfed him. In this country he suffered an immediate if not final eclipse; the earlier reformers, however, were not so thorough in their business as the Puritans and Iconoclasts of the succeeding century, when the mason was set to work with whitewash to make a clean sweep of the remaining St. Christophers and other such curious and venerated worthies, and obliterated many an interesting emblem and record of previous ages: thus destroying equally the rude attempts and the religious

efforts of the artists and sculptors of the English Church. Having done all the mischief they possibly could, these enthusiasts recorded their meritorious deeds in church registers and parish accounts, and sometimes on a scroll, with commemorative inscription, and a beautiful flourish, as in one case in these words: "Thank God for putting it into our heads and hearts to beautify this church." This entry is signed by the churchwardens of the parish. The puritanism and intolerance of the times were followed by the indifference and formalism of the eighteenth century, when religious questions remained in a sort of abeyance. The revival of interest in church and creed in the nineteenth century brought in its train the restoration and renovation of the old neglected buildings, and soon their decoration was taken in hand. The plaster was removed, and in many an ancient place of worship the great giant Saint was once more revealed, to witness to his former popularity, though not to claim the power and worship of a more credulous age. In this country it is not difficult to follow the course of events, and discern the causes which led to the downfall of St. Christopher in the esteem of the people; but I do not understand how it is that, to all appearance, he has quite lost his fame and following on the Continent also.

It is time to describe the general features of the representations to be found even now in so many places. The design is always the same, though varied and modified according to the taste and capacity of the artist. The Saint, a man of gigantic stature, grasping a staff on which he leans, has the infant Christ on his shoulder, who holds an orb with one hand, the other extended in the act of benediction. Usually, the Saint struggles with the current or waves of the stream, his garments reaching to his knees, and the water though not mounting so high, is meant to represent considerable depth, and has often fish swimming around, and sometimes a mermaid included amongst them. On each side is a high bank, and always on one is a chapel or hermitage, with a hermit holding a lantern to light the Saint across the ford. Christopher sometimes is represented as bending under the weight of his burden; and a scroll, with the lines recording the

conversation of the Saint with the Child, is often introduced. I can here only describe a few of the examples of the paintings, which are variations, and may be taken as specimens of many others still extant, as well as those known to have existed, but now destroyed. The first that attracted my attention is one of which I have a pen-and-ink sketch, taken from a drawing by Edward Duke, son of the well-known Wiltshire antiquary, who gives a most interesting account of his discovery of this wall-picture in the parish church of Wilsford and Lake, near Amesbury, in that county. The Rev. E. Duke was rector of the parish early in the nineteenth century. He had examined the church of Darrington in the neighbourhood, in search of a picture of which some record remains in Aubrey's notes (1669); but, finding that painting destroyed, he determined to examine his own church, and with such success that a very perfect representation was exposed to view: in this case two paintings existed, one over the other, of the same subject, the under one being in the best condition and the more characteristic, and probably several centuries earlier in date of execution. Mr. Duke assigns the date of it to the twelfth century, and finds in its antiquity a proof of his theory — that the so-called pictures of St. Christopher were fitted to early symbolic paintings of the Cross. As he supposes, the legend did not take its present shape until a later period than the paintings, as originally designed. However, later critics do not admit that any of the wall-paintings in the early Norman churches represented figures and groups in the manner in which this legend is delineated. On the whole, it cannot be considered probable that this painting can be of an earlier date than the thirteenth century. In this example, which is about 9 ft. in height by 11 ft. in breadth, the general features of the legend are all emphasised. The Saint is a most muscular giant, with a somewhat forbidding countenance. The Child holds in his left hand the globe surmounted with a cross, while he extends his right hand in the act of blessing, with the first three fingers extended. The hermit, with torch and rosary, watches him from the entrance of a chapel or church, which is a curious speci-

men of early architecture; it has a round-headed door, and windows, with lattice in the latter, and an upper or clerestory surmounted by a lantern hexagonal in shape. The roof appears to be of tiles. In this representation the three fish appear (though one is partially destroyed); and also beside the giant a mermaid is disporting herself, in apparently supreme indifference to the scene enacted before her. Tradition has said that it was an arm of the sea which was crossed by the Saint, and Mr. Duke finds in this picture that the idea is supported by the fish being "Dorées," denizens of the sea, and the mermaid a maid of the sea, being present in the waters. It seems that Pennant, in his *British Zoology*, remarks that: "Superstition hath made the Dorée rival to the honor of the haddock, out of whose mouth St. Peter took the tribute-money, leaving proofs of the identity of the fish in the marks of his finger and thumb in spots on its side. The Dorée asserts an origin of its spots of a similar nature; for St. Christopher, wading through an arm of the sea, caught a fish of this kind *en passant*, and, as an eternal mark of the fact, left the impressions on its sides to be handed down to all posterity. Wherefore the French named this fish 'Adorée,' now corrupted into the form of Dory."

As regards colouring, the picture is chiefly in the red or brickdust tint which is common to the earlier paintings discovered, which are usually outlined only, or shaded in part, to denote the varieties in form or texture. Perspective is at a discount, but the drawing and proportions of the principal figure, and the arrangement of the drapery, show the talent and execution of an artist.

Amongst the most curious examples of the subject is the one at Shorwell Church, Isle of Wight, which has been ascribed to the fourteenth century. In this case, not only does the Saint appear with his usual attributes and surroundings, but his conversion to Christianity and his martyrdom are also depicted. The treatment is more elaborate than usual, but it seems that similar representations have been found at some other churches, but not preserved. The picture discovered at Bardswell is supposed to date about 1500, but has been white-

washed over. Amongst recorded instances of this subject, which are now effaced, a remarkable example was visible until early in the nineteenth century in the chapel at the east end of Canterbury Cathedral, called "Becket's Crown." This was a large painting, and according to local evidence it was one of a series of subjects executed by the order and at the expense of Cardinal Pole, the last Roman Catholic prelate interred at that cathedral. Another representation, which I believe is still in existence, is that at Sedgeford Church, in Norfolk. In this instance, the inscription appears, and a more remarkable peculiarity is that the Infant is portrayed with three heads. This extraordinary illustration has been supposed to denote the doctrine of the Holy Trinity: certainly a strange if not unique example of such a design. The Norfolk churches were especially rich in fine examples of the Christopher legend; but unfortunately many of these have been allowed to fall into decay, and are no longer visible, though in fair condition when discovered.¹

The last representation I shall here record is the one at St. John's Church, Winchester, which is doubtless already well known to the members of the British Archaeological Association from their visits in the Congress of 1893. However, I do not see any notice of the wall-paintings in their Journal of the proceedings on that occasion. It may be that, like others which have been discovered, it is not now in good condition. This I hope may not be the reason for silence, as it was a very fine example of the subject. The principal figure was 14 ft. in height, and with form and features more pleasing and artistic in drawing than most representations. The details are the usual ones, but treated with more than ordinary talent and sense of proportion and distance. This painting was discovered in 1853, and occupies the central part of the south aisle, reaching nearly from the ground to the roof.

¹ Many other examples in good condition have been brought to my notice. Amongst others, the one at Chesham Parish Church, Bucks, which was discovered and preserved by Sir Gilbert Scott when restoring the church, and is a very good specimen of large size on the south wall.

The south aisle of St. John's was, apparently, appropriated to a confraternity of St. Christopher, as the north is known to have belonged to the Guild of Our Blessed Lady, this church having been, until the Reformation, largely supported by confraternities. The popular Saint was represented in several so-called brotherhoods, or guilds. In many bequests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries his name is recorded: for instance, the Earl of Northumberland in his will, 11th July, 1511, after the usual form, asks for the prayers of blessed St. Christopher, "my advowry (or advocate)", and bequeaths "Unto the brotherhood of Cristoffer of York forty pence and to the brotherhoods of St. Cristoffer holden within the Parish Church of St. Mighill in Cornhill twelve Pence."

Of an earlier date, at Thame, in Oxfordshire, the brass inlaid altar-tomb to Rich. Quatermaine and his wife, about 1460, an inscription records one of these foundations "as a Fraternity in the worship of St. Cristofere in perpetuity," whose devout prayers they request. The lines are worth quoting, and with them I will conclude as follows: "They founded in the Church of Thame a Chantry, 6 pore men and a fraternity in the worshipp of Seynt Cristofere to be relieved in perpetuyte. They of their alms for their soules a pater noster and Ave devoutly will say, of holy faddurs is granted the pardon of dayes forty alway—which Richard and Sibil oute of the world passed in the yere of owre Lord 1460."





WINFIELD MANOR.

By J. B. MITCHELL-WITHERS, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 12th, 1903.)



HIS Manor House is said to have been built by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI, to whom he was Treasurer of the Exchequer, an office of high honour. He appears to have been a nobleman of great attainments, and, as such, we may attribute to his influence the artistic feeling which runs through the design of his house. He obtained the Manor of Winfield about A.D. 1441, through a lawsuit, in which a compromise was effected, and then appears to have built the main portion of the buildings which form the Manor House on the site of an older house. After his death on Jan. 4th, A.D. 1455, it passed to John, second Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom Cromwell had sold the reversion of the Manor, and in whose accounts are payments on behalf of this made.

Lord Cromwell appears to have been a great builder. He built the Castle of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, and also a church there. He also probably rebuilt the church at South Winfield, or rather, rebuilt it with the exception of the chancel, which had been constructed just previous to his time; and one would, therefore, expect that here, where apparently he expected to dwell, in—for those times—comparative security, that it would be probable that he would desire a house to be designed which would contain the latest ideas in the refinement of the times. And while this building has been much mutilated by owners, who at a later date used much of the stonework for building what has been described as a square box

adjoining, sufficient remains to show that those employed by him carried out the ideas of this great man in no mean spirit. From an artistic point of view, the remains of Winfield have always had a great fascination for me; and if my time had not been otherwise occupied I should have desired to have put before you drawings to show, from an architect's point of view, some probable restoration of this building; but knowing that many here present may have had more ample facilities to work this matter out than have fallen to my lot, I must be content to-day with giving you a general description, and trust that the plan which I have prepared, together with information I have collected from other sources, will be of some interest, and perhaps lead to further information being acquired as to the uses of the various portions of the building.

The inferior buildings apparently surrounded an outer court or bailey, from which, through a gateway, consisting of a large and a small entrance, the inner courtyard was approached, round which the more important buildings were situated.

The massive turrets, which flanked this approach (that at the south-east being no longer in existence), appear to have been designed with the idea of affording the inhabitants an ample defence from any attack on this side; and no doubt they would feel secure from an attack from the north side, owing to the nature of the ground, the moat, and the facilities of defence which the battlements and terrace there would offer; and the inner court and its buildings, therefore, convey a sense of peaceful security which is not found in buildings of the previous century.

The main entrance from the inner courtyard to the buildings of his lordship was formed by a large porch, which is the most perfect part of the front of the building, surrounded by rich Perpendicular battlements, with shields of arms belonging to him. The entrance is surmounted by an arch, which is richly moulded, and decorated with square-leaved flowers. The ceiling of this porch was formed as a groined vault, and stone seats were on each side; beyond it was the banqueting-hall, there being a screen as usual across the end of it, over which would be the music gallery.

The hall itself must have been a fine example of its time, and had on the north side five windows, and on the south side, which faces the inner courtyard, three windows and a fine bay window, which fortunately remains in a sufficient state of preservation to attract the admiration of all interested in our art treasures. There are also two gable windows. At the further end of the hall, judging from the stonework, there must have been a dais, as was usual at this time, when the lord and his household dined above the salt and their retainers below it. The rings from which the tapestry was hung still remain. Under the hall is a vaulted apartment, which, with its big wheel-bosses and finely-carved figure ornaments, is well worthy of notice. It is called "the crypt." The exact purpose for which it was used has been the subject of much contention. The designers do not appear to have been at much trouble to light it well, as it has only comparatively small windows facing the terrace; but by its being approached by three staircases from the building, and a fourth from the inner courtyard, I can only assume that it had some most important use.

Mr. J. D. Leader, in his book, *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*, made the suggestion that possibly it may have been the chapel, for traces of which archæologists have sought in vain.

In a book on Winfield Manor, Mr. S. O. Addy says that "the undercroft" at Winfield was the "Spence." Here the wine, spices, fruit dishes, etc., were kept by an officer of the household called the Spencer, who was in monastic houses called the Cellarer. He may be right, but this to me seems to be a different case, and the access to this crypt on all sides—it being readily approached from the hall, the terrace, the portal, the inner courtyard, the battlements, in fact, from the buildings generally—seems to indicate that it was the armoury. These, we know, were often elaborately ornamented, and no doubt would be one of the sights shown to distinguished visitors. On the outside of it, in the Elizabethan period, was erected what Turner and Parker, in their description of fifteenth-century domestic architecture, describe as a sort of cloister; and this, whilst protecting

it from attack, must have lessened the little light which it had previously obtained.

Off the north-east turret stairs are various doorways, and the corbels in the outer side of the hall wall, and the large doors from the crypt and hall, indicate that there were buildings here. There are also traces of other buildings further out; and while I cannot say definitely what they were, I suggest that there was a withdrawing-room here, and that the buildings extended from it to the south-east tower, where the farm barn is, thus completing the inner courtyard. There is a trace of a foundation wall running out from the remains furthest north-east, and it seems as if the moat may have ended here, which would still further increase the probability of there being buildings here to protect this, the weakest side of the Manor House.

Returning to the entrance porch, we see opposite a fine doorway, which led to what is known as "the portal," and at the far side of it there is a very fine archway. Off the portico is an entrance to what are known as the State apartments, and another entrance from which access is obtained to a circular stair, which leads to the level of the crypt, and also ascends to the upper portions of the building.

The buildings known as the State apartments had many uses allotted to them. I do not know that I can give you a totally satisfactory answer as to what those were, as the windows looking over the kitchen court are very puzzling. In the basement, there appears to have been a cellar, for use in connection with the buttery, and another which was used as a larder. The remains of the foundation wall indicate the division between the two.

On the ground floor, approached out of the hall by the smaller doorway of the three, and facing into the inner courtyard, was the pantry. The large door in the centre formed the approach to the buttery and the kitchens; and doubtless the passage was screened off on each side: as, at the further end over the archway, against the stairs approaching the buttery-hatch, there is the equivalent of a modern fanlight.

The third doorway led first to some steps which descended to the crypt; and here there is a break in the wall, extending to the next floor, and opposite are three windows, which appear to have belonged to this storey. The lower one of the three is more plainly worked on the outside than the other two. The wall above having disappeared does not make it any easier to decide what was the object of this arrangement. It may have been a staircase, to approach the next floor.

On the first floor, the portion of the building facing the inner courtyard appears to have been one storey of considerable height; and judging from the richness of the window, and the small rose window over it, it appears probable that this was used as the domestic chapel of the Manor House. The portion facing the terrace, and entered from over the portal, would be one of the private apartments, and over it would be another apartment, which the angle entrance shows was connected with the room to the west of it, which was again approached from one of the turrets. Whether these rooms had any opening into the chapel, as is sometimes the case, there is no evidence now to show.

Proceeding down the steps towards the kitchens, we pass the buttery, from which access was obtained to the cellars, and on the opposite side to which is a large fireplace. There is a wall against the steps, and traces of mortar, as though used for pointing a roof on the outer wall of the kitchen above it. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that this little court, and generally the portion where the fireplace is, was without a roof; and that the approach from the kitchens, whilst having a roof, was more or less open like a cloister arcade, so as to give light and air to the buttery-hatches, etc. The kitchen beyond, with its various ovens and the accessories, are on a scale worthy of the rest of the building. The kitchen appears to have been one storey in height, with ample light and ventilation in the upper part. At one end of it is the scullery, with a door leading through the outer wall, and another leading into a small courtyard at the opposite end. The buttery is approached from the kitchen, and there is access from it both to the inner

courtyard and the cellars under the State apartments. From the kitchen, up a flight of steps, the inner courtyard is also reached, and adjoining are the buildings in which Mary Queen of Scots is said to have spent the portion of her captivity passed at Winfield. It is recorded that those who remembered this portion of the building said that it was the finest portion. There is little now save the outer wall, with its fireplaces and windows, and traces of the inner wall. This shows two bays, which appear to have been the cause of much speculation: as Edmund Henry Ferrey, who wrote a monologue on Winfield Manor, in 1870, together with careful measurements of the building, and to whose plan I am indebted for the diagram on which I have pointed out the various arrangements, on excavating found two square jambs. I do not think this need have been the cause of much difficulty, as it would be a very natural arrangement for a doorway to have been formed opposite to the stairs leading to the kitchen for the service of this suite of apartments. Mary Queen of Scots, as we know, was kept in fairly strict confinement; and it is recorded that when Queen Elizabeth asked the Earl of Shrewsbury's son about her, he replied he had not seen her for five years; and as she appears to have had a considerable staff of attendants, including cooks, it would be only natural for ready access to be afforded from the servants' portion to the rooms which she occupied.

Beyond the building, in the south-west angle of the inner court, is the entrance to the tower, together with another similar tower previously referred to as protecting the inner gateway, which is said to have been in the south-east angle. Between this and the gatehouse has been a two-storey building, of which the chimneys and walls remain standing. In this, adjoining the gatehouse, is the porter's room. No doubt the buildings between the south-east tower and the gatehouse would be of a somewhat similar nature. Out of these a modern farmhouse had been formed, and various square-headed windows have been broken out.

On the west side of the inner courtyard it is said that there were no buildings, and the remains beyond the

great hall do not seem to have attracted much attention. I do not agree with this opinion for the reasons I have already mentioned, viz., the remains visible and the need of defence here.

Passing to the outer quadrangle, we notice the fine chimneys in the buildings on the north side.

On the east side are the remains of what is known as the Guards' Chamber. This name was probably given it during the siege at the time of the Commonwealth. At the south-west corner is an entrance gateway, with a large and a small arch, and porter's lodge and guard room at the sides of it. Beyond this, at the outer south-east corner, is an ancient barn with a fine timber roof, the posts being carried down to the ground-level. On the remainder of the south side are traces of buildings of a similar width; on the west side there are traces of a building. These were most likely used as stables and servants' quarters; and no doubt on the west side there would be a postern to give access to the earthworks outside, traces of which remain. The field in which they are retains the name of "the bulwarks."

The water supply to the Manor House appears to have been originally through pipes, as we learn that they were cut during the siege at the time of the Commonwealth, when a well was sunk in the inner courtyard.





ECCLESFIELD CHURCH.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., PRESIDENT.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 13th, 1903.)



CANNOT omit to preface a short sketch of the history of this building with an expression of regret that the Association has been deprived, by the death of Dr. Gatty at the beginning of the present year, of the pleasure of being welcomed by one whose affection for this church was equalled only by his knowledge of its every detail. The present Perpendicular structure occupies the site of an older church or churches. Dr. Gatty was almost pathetically anxious to establish the fact of a Saxon edifice having stood here : but there is not the slightest trace of this. There is no mention of a church at Ecclesfield in *Domesday Book*, nor have any remains of a Norman church been found, although there is substantial ground for the belief that one of the De Lovetots (*temp.* Henry I), coterminously with the foundation of the church at Sheffield and the monastery at Worksop, built a church here. Dr. Gatty speaks of some traces of Early English work about the piers of the tower ; but more definite is the Early English shaft or column attached to the west end of the nave, and fragmentary mouldings of Early English windows have been found from time to time during alterations. The De Lovetot of the period bestowed lands and the church on the Abbey of St. Wandrille, Fontenelle, in the diocese of Rouen, Normandy ; and towards the end of the twelfth century a priory or cell was erected here, and a small colony of brethren placed in charge. In course of time dissensions

arose ; and the monks' attention to the spiritual needs of the place proving unsatisfactory, in 1310 the Archbishop of York ordained that there should be a perpetual Vicar of Ecclesfield, presentable by the abbot and convent of St. Wandrille. On the abbey was also imposed the duty of providing an endowment and vicarage, of maintaining the fabric, and of finding two assistant chaplains. A monk of St. Wandrille was, accordingly, appointed in 1311, and the succession of vicars has been regular to the present time. When, in 1386, Henry II suppressed the alien priories, Ecclesfield was given to the Monastery of St. Anne, Coventry. By it the still-existing church was built, though not all at the same period. The four piers of the tower arch are Decorated ; the rest of the church Perpendicular, and probably ranging from 1450 to 1500, the chancel being the latest. The windows of this were, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, filled with stained glass windows by the neighbouring families—the Fitzwilliams, Mountenays, Shirecliffes, and others ; while the east window contained the arms of Furnival ; a picture of St. Wandrille, with bishop's staff ; figures of the Prior of St. Anne's, with twelve monks ; and an inscription : " Pray for Thomas Richard, prior, and his convent of the Carthusian house of St. Anne, near Coventry, who caused this chancel and window to be made." There is some difficulty in identifying this prior, but it is conjectured that his date is 1497 to 1504. We get a confirmatory clue to the furnishing of the chancel in the will of Thomas Parker, of Whitley (20th August, 1510), who bequeathed 40s. " to the making of the rode lofte and stalls in the said church of Ecclesfeld." One of the witnesses to this will was Sir Thomas Clerc, Vicar from 1478 to 1517. The rood-loft was taken down in 1570, but when Roger Dodsworth visited the church in 1628, the screen and stalls remained, and he was much struck with the gorgeous display of painted glass in the windows. He wrote : " This church is called (and that deservedly) by the vulger the Mynster of the Moores, being the fairest church for stone, wood, glasse, and neat keeping that ever I came in of country church."

After that the church suffered from the dilapidations

and neglect of a decadent period. Mr. J. T. Jeffcock describes the manner in which, up to 1825, "quaint galleries, with two or three pews in them, and each a separate staircase, were studded about the church, and peered from under arches or behind pillars, each painted or colour-washed to a different tint, as suited the taste of the owner or the exigencies of the sexton. On the ground, in one place, stood a pew lined with green baize; in another an oak stall patched with deal. This was square and tall, that low and oblong; this had no floor, that no bench-end; one was surrounded with crimson curtains, the next had not even a solid seat in it." A costly but unenlightened attempt was made in 1825 to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in the nave. But the chancel was left in its old neglect; and the inadequacy of the "restoration" may be judged by the description given by Dr. Gatty, in *A Life at One Living*, of the condition of the church when he was appointed Vicar in 1839. Throughout his long tenure Dr. Gatty was untiring in his determination to make the structure worthy of its name; and, generously helped by the surrounding gentry, the restorations as we now see them were completed some ten years ago.

The remains of the ancient priory stand to the north of the church. After the suppression of the alien priory, the few foreign ecclesiastics who had hitherto resided here probably withdrew to their own country. It is believed that no monks were stationed at Ecclesfield by its patrons of Coventry, but that from 1386 the estate was farmed out to some person who converted the monastic buildings into a secular dwelling-house. This, known as Ecclesfield Hall, degenerated into a mere farmhouse when rebuilt, but in part only, in 1736. The eastern portion of the old priory, with certain interpolated seventeenth-century chimneypieces and windows, was left to go to ruinous decay. The same fate was reserved for the chapel or oratory, 18 ft. 8 ins. by 13 ft. 6 ins., with chamber beneath, and a dormitory adjoining it with refectory below. But a few years ago the property was sold by the Duke of Norfolk to the late Mr. Bernard Wake, who restored these apartments, and, adding them

to the hall, converted the whole into a curate's house. Both piscina and aumbrye were found in the walls of the chapel, and the original east window remains with mullions and tracery in good condition. The walls of the refectory and chapel were found to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, the stones having been cemented, not with lime mortar, but with loamy clay. During the restoration there were found remains of an older wall at the west end of the chapel, which may indicate the first structure put up by the St. Wandrille monks.

The tomb of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, the historian of Hallamshire, which stands in the southern part of the churchyard, should also be noticed.





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 81.)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11TH, 1903.

TO-DAY the members and friends had an interesting trip to places of note in the vicinity of Worksop. With a number of Sheffield ladies and gentlemen who joined them for the day, a party of about eighty persons assembled, and after proceeding to the Dukeries town by rail, "four-in-hands" were chartered, and the company were driven to Blyth, an old-world little village lying on the border-line of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. It is a pleasant road which runs northward from Worksop to Bawtry, and with the sun shining brilliantly, the journey was most enjoyable. Early on the road one had a peep at Carlton, red-tiled and picturesque, set against a background of dark green, formed by the woods of Dangold. In the hedgerows honeysuckle twined, and the wheat-fields, where the ears of corn were already turning golden brown, had additional colour lent to them by reason of the flaming poppies everywhere awaying to the breeze. Blyth is not a big village, nor is it a place of importance, but in company with half a dozen other places within the radius of a few miles, it dates back to the time of the Domesday Survey. One may read that "in Blide (Blyth) there was one oxgang of land and the fourth part of one oxgang to be taxed. Land to one plough. Four villanes and four hordars have their one plough and one acre of meadow. In the same place, one carucate of land to be taxed of soke of the King's manor in Mansfield." Blyth was agricultural when the Conqueror came, and it is agricultural to-day. It possesses one or two sleepy inns, a very fine old church, a hall, and a chapel, which has a painfully new appearance when contrasted with the surrounding buildings. So quiet, so peaceful, is everything, there that one reads with feelings akin to surprise that John Norden derives the origin of the name of the village from the mirth and good-fellowship of the inhabitants therein.

It was to the church that the archæologists directed their steps, and under the guidance of Dr. John Stokes, who read the following notes on Blyth, considerable time was spent in viewing the edifice.

NOTES ON BLYTH.

Blyth Priory was founded by Roger de Busli, or Builli, one of the wealthiest landowners of the Norman era, and Muriel his wife, in 1088 A.D. It was a Benedictine priory, subject to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, to which it paid forty



Blyth Church : North-West Angle of Nave.

shillings per annum. It was not strictly an alien priory, having only this amount to pay, yet from time to time its revenues were confiscated, when the King of England for the time being was at war with France.

The original church had a nave of seven bays, and north and south aisles with transept and choir, the latter having an apsidal end. The total length was 158 ft., and width of the nave about 45 ft.

It is one of the earliest specimens of Norman architecture in the

country, and its style shows great traces of French influence. The dedication was to St. Martin and St. Mary.

In the early part of the thirteenth century a new south door was inserted, and it is suggested that when the south aisle was widened at the end of that century, this doorway was rebuilt together with the outer doorway of the porch. The south aisle was enlarged with a



Blyth Church : Detail of Nave Arcade.

width corresponding to the original transept, to form the parish church ; and this alteration was rendered necessary by various disputes between the vicar of the parish and the prior of the convent, as the church was both parochial and conventual.

About the end of the fourteenth century the tower at the west end was erected, and in so doing the old west front and one of the bays of the nave was removed. Canon Raine puts the erection of this tower in the fifteenth century, from the record of certain benefactions having

been left : 1476, Thomas Chamberlain left 6s. 8d. "*fabricæ ecclesiæ*;" 1481, Robert Wilson left the same amount for the same purpose, and 3s. 4d. for the west window, "*fabricæ unicus fenestræ in parte occidentali ecclesiæ*," probably the five-light window in the west end of south aisle. 1509 Richard Adamson left 3s. 4d. for a bell : "*Campanæ in eadem ecclesiæ, iij s. iiij d.*" The tower of Tullhill Church, which has a similar cresting, was in course of erection in 1429.

The conventual buildings were situated on the north side of the church, probably in this position that the monks might be nearer the river, and perhaps to secure more seclusion from the outer world. These buildings were pulled down when Blyth Hall was built, in 1684, by Edward Mellish, and only a crypt with plain barrel vault remains. The hall appears, from the Mellish accounts, August 2nd, 1689, to have cost altogether £6,083 4s. 11½d. : rather a large sum. Of the original church there remain six bays of the nave, the north aisle, the triforium of which has had windows inserted probably in the sixteenth century (after the dissolution of monasteries), the west arch of the crossing, and the south-west part of the south transept.

The pillars are of typical Norman character, with heads carved on the east and west sides of each capital ; and on the wall above the vaulting of the nave (which was inserted in the thirteenth century) are traces of the old decoration of dark red lines in the form of parallelograms ; and there are some traces of decoration on the vaulting of the nave in the second bay from the east (this would form the west bay of the conventual church).

The rood-screens of both conventual and parish churches are in one line, and the lower portions are well preserved ; the upper parts have been largely renewed, but well done, after the old style. On the panels of each are painted figures representing various saints (? St. Barbara, St. Stephen, St. Euphemia, St. Edmund, St. Ursula). Those on the conventual rood-screen are older in form and ruder in execution than those on the parochial one, which latter show manifest evidences of Byzantine influence.

In the present chancel are the mutilated remains of a stone effigy, sometimes said to represent the founder of the priory.

Under the tower three stone grave-covers are set up. On the north side of the nave is the tomb of Edward Mellish, who died 1703. A tablet records that the deceased gentleman, "having lived alone 20 years a merchant in Portugal, at his return home, by God's blessing, with a plentiful estate, built a mansion house, a fair and stately edifice, situated at the north side of this church, where stood the seat of his father."

The site of the apsidal east end of the conventual church is now part of the grounds of Blyth Hall, and the mound containing the foundations may be plainly seen to extend 60 ft. from the present east end of the church.

The priory was dissolved in February, 1535-36, when the annual income was returned at £126 8s. 2½d. The great tithes and the advowson are now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Hall and Manor belong to Major Willey.

Many of those present ascended the tower, which, although only some 70 ft. high, commands an extensive and pleasing view over the country round about.

The party then returned to Worksop, where the Priory Church was visited under the guidance of Mr. Charles Lynam; the vicar, the Rev. H. T. Slodden, having first given the following brief *résumé* of the history and devolution of the Manor of Worksop:—

“The manor of Worksop in the days of the Conqueror was held by one Roger de Buisli, a favourite of the Norman William. It is said that this Roger held no fewer than 174 manors in Notts., and his chief residence was at Tickhill, in Yorkshire, though he sometimes resided at Worksop. From De Buisli the Worksop estates passed to another Norman nobleman, William de Lovetot, probably by his marriage with the daughter of De Buisli. This William founded this monastery for canons. He left two sons, Richard and Nigel. From the Lovetots, after three generations, Worksop passed to another young Norman, Gerard de Furnival, who became Lord of Hallamshire and Worksop by his marriage with Maud, the heiress of the Lovetots. This Gerard died at Jerusalem in 1219; his son Thomas was likewise a Crusader, and was slain in Palestine. Thomas's brother brought his remains to Worksop, and they were buried here. Through a line of six Furnivals in direct succession—one being the famous Thomas, Lord Furnival, who served with Edward III at Cressy—the estates of the Furnivals, by failure of male issue, passed to the Neviles, viz., to one Sir Thomas Nevil, the Lord Treasurer of England, by his marriage with Joan de Furnival. The alabaster figure of the knight, with the figure of the lion at his feet (at the west end of the church) is supposed to represent Sir Thomas Nevil; the other two effigies represent Joan, his wife, and the Thomas de Furnival who fought at Cressy. Sir Thomas Nevil and his wife had one daughter, Maude, who was married to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and thus the estates passed to the Talbots. There were five Earls of Shrewsbury in direct succession who enjoyed this estate, and to Francis, the fifth Earl, Henry VIII, on the

dissolution of the monastery, granted its Worksop possessions, to hold to him and his heirs by the royal service of finding the king a right-hand glove at his coronation, and by supporting the king's arm so long as the sceptre should be held.

"After eight generations of Talbots, and the division of their estates among co-heiresses, this portion, about 1617, came by marriage to the Howards, Earls of Arundel, since Dukes of Norfolk, and remained with them until 1840, when the entail was broken and Worksop Manor estate was sold to Henry, fourth Duke of Newcastle. The greater portion of the manor estate the present Duke has sold, but before the sale the advowson of the living was handed over to the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford."

Mr. Lynam then gave a short account of the church and the ruins. The date of the foundation of the church is a little uncertain, White and other writers having fixed 1103 as being the most probable; Mr. Lynam gave it as his opinion that the date was later than this. The founder was William de Lovetot, who, it is believed, also founded the parish church of Sheffield. It was of the Order of St. Augustine, and dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Richard de Lovetot, his son continued his father's grants, and added valuable gifts of his own. Subsequently, Gerard de Furnival married the only daughter of the second William de Lovetot, and he and his heirs held possession of the de Lovetot estates for about a hundred and eighty years. At the death of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival, the Worksop estates passed by marriage to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury. There were five Earls of Shrewsbury in direct succession holding the estates, but in 1617 they came into the possession of the Howards of Arundel, since Dukes of Norfolk, and remained with them until 1840, when they were sold to the Duke of Newcastle. The present parish church only represents a part of the original priory church, but of the remaining portion the two eastern bays are of an entirely different period to the others, and point to the edifice having early been extended. There is reason to believe, moreover, that opportunity was taken of retaining one part of the area for the use of the canons and the other for parochial purposes. The priory, with so many other noble buildings, suffered during the Reformation, for, in 1539, its surrender having been made by Thomas Stokkes, the then prior, the work of dissolution was ruthlessly carried out. Not until 1845 was the restoration of the church really commenced. The general architecture of the priory and the ruins is so familiar to archæologists that the keenest interest was perhaps directed to small details. Mr. Lynam had much of interest to narrate, and many theories of his own to extend. There

is a recess in the groined undercrofts by the cloister which is often said to be a niche whence the poor received their doles; but Mr. Lynam declared this to be a fallacy, remarking that the opening had been a cupboard, and as proof pointed to small pieces of ironwork which, he said, were the remains of the hinges upon which the door had swung, and that the back of the recess was not mere filling-in, but of the date of the original building. After seeing the church, the priory gatehouse was inspected. This is now in a dilapidated state, and is unused. The architecture would point to its having been erected in the early part of the fourteenth century, in the time of Thomas de Furnival. The visitors were shown the old guest-house, and a shrine to the Blessed Virgin Mary: exceptional because of the richness of its carving.

Luncheon was served at the Lion Hotel, Worksop; and subsequently conveyances were again brought into requisition, and the party proceeded to the chapel of Steetley, where the rector of Whitwell, the Rev. Canon Mason, acted as guide. Steetley Chapel, which is just within the borders of Derbyshire, in one of the most interesting sacred buildings in this part of the country. For many years previous to 1880 it was without roof, and creeper-covered; inside were grass and straw; fowls, and it is even said pigs, had free run of the area. So beautiful was the architecture and carving, however, that it was determined to restore the buildings; and help being forthcoming, it was carefully roofed, and made fit for divine worship. It presented a pleasing contrast to its condition when visited by the Association on the occasion of the Congress held in Sheffield in 1873. It is possible this building fell into disuse in the period following the Civil War. The diary of Abraham de la Pryme, under the date February 12th, 1698, contains the following:—"In a green meadow close to Stickley, near or in Shire Oaks, in or near Worksop, stands a straightly well-built chapel, all arched roofed, excellently enambled and gilt; the lead that covered the same is all stolen away, so that the weather begins to pierce through its fine roof to its utter decaying." The following notes on Steetley Chapel were contributed by Canon Mason:—

STEETLEY CHAPEL.

The neighbouring village of Thorpe-Salvin is said by some lovers of romance to be the site of the celebrated castle of Front-de-Bœuf. If that be so, I maintain that Steetley Chapel is the ruined shrine where the Black Knight enjoyed the hospitality of "the holy Clerk of Copmanhurst." Certainly, when "the gentle and joyous passage of arms of Ashby-de-la-Zouch" took place, this chapel had been standing

nigh a hundred years. For it was probably built by Gley le Breton, when Stephen was seated on the royal throne of Westminster, and Roger de Clinton, thirty-third successor of St. Chad, on the episcopal throne of Coventry. It was the hand of a Clinton that first blessed this altar and these walls; and now, when seven centuries have rolled away, it is under the noble patronage of a Clinton that this altar and these



Steetley Chapel : Interior.

walls have been restored. Steetley Chapel, then, is older than Welbeck Abbey. Gley le Breton built it, perhaps, for his own convenience, as a private chapel to stand near his house; and, no doubt, Parson Hugh or Parson Walter used sometimes to walk down here from Whitwell early in the morning, to say mass for the benefit of Gley, or Gley's son John, with his four sons and their sister, Matilda, and the Gurths and Wambas of his day. These four young men, if they married, left no children, and Matilda becoming heiress, brought the property by

marriage to the Vavasours, who held it till the year 1360. Thenceforward, and all through the Reformation period, it was held by the Frechevilles. From them it passed to the Wentworths, to the Howards, and to the Pelham Clintons. Although for some two hundred years this building remained as a "capella" in Whitwell parish, yet in the fourteenth century, while Roger Northburgh and



Steetley Chapel: South-West Porch.

Robert Stretton were Bishops of Lichfield, nine separate institutions are known to have been made, and the priest is called "Rector of Steetley Church." This brief independence of forty years lapsed as mysteriously as it arose, and Steetley Chapel serves now once more the purpose for which Gley le Breton built it.

The chapel is 56 ft. long. It is divided into three parts—a nave, a chancel, and an apse (a parallelogram, a square, and a semi-circle). The nave is 15 ft. 9 in. broad, and the chancel measures 13 ft. 9 in. across.

Rev. Dr. J. C. Cox (whose name needs no comment) has pronounced Steetley Chapel to be "the most perfect and elaborate specimen of Norman architecture to be found anywhere in Europe." The chief features of interest are the porch, the chancel, and the apse. Observe the porch. It is composed of a triple arch resting on three pillars. The inmost member of the arch is plain, the second and third are ornamented with the beak-head and with the zigzag design. On the pillars the sculptor has lavished his art. The inmost one is simply moulded; the next is very rich with deeply-cut interlacing foliage; the third is ornamented with picturesque medallions, and on the capital is a syren or a mermaid and two fish. It is not extravagantly fanciful to suppose that these three pillars represent the works of Creation: three steps in the progress of life. The inmost is inanimate; the second displays the wealth of vegetable growth; the third the activity of animal life—the sea-monster and the fish; the wild beast, the lamb of the flock, the man; and the flying eagle,—that is, things "in heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the water under the earth." This idea is visible on both sides of the porch. There is, no doubt, a further meaning in the medallions. Thus, on the left side is plainly seen the Good Shepherd delivering the lamb out of the paw of the bear; on the right the figure of the pelican in her piety. Two new pillars have been added by Mr. Pearson on the old basement discovered. The carved stones lying on the grass may have originally belonged to the porch. They were found blocking up the lower of the two west windows. Outside the porch, right across the entrance, was found yonder priest's tombstone, and beneath the stone a skull. On the stone is carved an altar with three legs, and on the altar a chalice and paten, and a hand extended in blessing. At the head and foot is a sort of cross in a circle. There are two other stones: one plain, the other with a cross rudely scratched on it. Perhaps that unearthed skull beneath the carved stone was part of the skeleton of Lawrence le Leche, who was instituted to Steetley the year before the great plague of 1349, during which seventy-seven priests in Derbyshire died and twenty-two resigned. It is not difficult to imagine him, like Mr. Mompesson, at Eyam, in 1666, refusing to quit his post, comforting the sick and dying, or restoring them to health by that medical skill which had earned for him the title of "le Leche." Then, after seven years' service he died, and, in the humility of his self-devotion, chose, like St. Swithun at Winchester, to be buried before the porch, so that the people whom he had so faithfully served during his life might tread upon his bones, as they passed within to pray. Dying, he left no name, no epitaph upon his tomb, only a hand stretched out eternally

to bless. It was a happy omen to find, when we began to restore, a holy hand that blessed us from the grave. To these ancient graves are now added new ones; a few little children; and two old men, who made their first and last Communion here before they died.

The chancel arch forms a kind of frame, through which the second arch and the lovely apse are seen. It gives an effect of solemn depth and rich beauty. The arch is triple. The inmost design is the zigzag, the next the battlement, and the third is "an scalloped border over reticulated cones." The two pillars on the north side are richly



Steetley Chapel : Chancel Arch and Apse before Restoration.

carved, one with a double-bodied lion, the other with a St. George and the Dragon. The winged dragon, his long sweeping tail curled round the next capital and terminating in foliage, tramples on a prostrate lady. The warrior, in a complete suit of armour, strides to the rescue. His left hand thrusts a kite-shaped shield against the monster's mouth, and his right hand, grasping a long broadsword, is stretched out behind him to deal a death-blow. The chancel is paved with stone, as it was anciently. The aumbrey in the north wall contains a specimen of the stone tiles with which the chapel was once roofed. An old copper key, a piece of wrought iron, and a silver penny of the reign of Richard II, are the only things found here. In

Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (vol. v, pp. ccxxii-iii) are shown two doors opposite each other in the chancel, evidently cut for the convenience of the pigs or sheep that once lived inside. The decorated window in the south side is the only feature later than the Norman period. The apse has a stone vaulted roof, supported by four ribs resting on engaged pillars. In the centre, where the ribs meet, immediately over the altar, is a medallion containing the "Lamb as it had been slain." The capitals of the pillars are elaborately carved. On the left is represented the tree of knowledge, loaded with fruit. Round it curls the serpent, and on either side stand Adam and Eve: an emblem of temptation and defeat. On the right are seen two doves; a symbol of peace after resisted temptation. The two together suggest and teach the text: "Be ye as wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Some remains of the colour can still be seen on the capital of the south pillar of the arch.

It would be a thousand pities to touch the carving with modern paint. It is painted with the inimitable art and colour of the great master, Time. But the chapel needs colour and enrichment; and, if the spaces between the ribs were tastefully decorated, the stone carving would appear to greater advantage. One word to suggest a scheme. Behind the altar a reredos, representing the Crucifixion; in the central window, the Ascension; in the central space of the roof, Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the four living Creatures, the Angels, and the Saints after whom the chapel is named. Between the arch and the ribs of the roof is a semi-circle, which surrounds and frames the vaulted roof. This must be the "rainbow round about the throne in sight like unto an emerald," and it must be composed of created things. In the summit the ranks of the angels; then the sun, moon, and stars; the clouds, lightnings, and storms; then the birds; then the beasts, the trees, the flowers; and then the water and the fish.

It only remains for me to call your attention to the grotesque heads that surround the chapel immediately beneath the roofs, and also to the very beautiful stringcourse of carved foliage that girdles the apse immediately below the three exquisite little narrow windows.

The chapel has not been re-consecrated. It was "reconciled" by the present Lord Bishop of Lichfield on November 2nd, 1880.

The last visit of the afternoon was to Barlborough Hall, four miles further on the road. After a pleasant drive into the old village, the conveyances entered the grounds, and turned into the magnificent avenue of elm trees which leads up to the front of the mansion. The

day had been spent in the inspection of relics of the past, but at no previous moment had the spirit of old-world romance crept over one as it did in approaching this stately Elizabethan home. Seen from the avenue, the impression quickly striking the visitor is, that he or she has been suddenly transported back several centuries. The hall is in a wonderful state of preservation, and there has been little done in the way of exterior restoration or alteration. The interior has been very slightly modernized; the rooms are full of old furniture, carvings, tapestries, and quaint firegrates, with armour and war relics on the staircase. The Hall is now occupied by Miss de Rodes, a descendant of the original builder; and to her courtesy the party was indebted for permission to view this beautiful house. The hall and its history were described by Mr. J. R. Wigfull, whose remarks are given below.

BARLBOROUGH HALL.

This interesting specimen of Elizabethan architecture was erected in 1583-4 by Francis Rodes, a Justice of the Common Pleas. The house is not large, but seen at the bottom of a long avenue of approach, the effect is very beautiful. The house is an example of the Italian influence, and extends vertically instead of spreading over the ground, as was the usual English manner. The plan is square, with the rooms grouped round a small central court, now roofed in and converted into a staircase. The kitchen and offices are on the ground floor, and principal rooms are on the floor above. The entrance doorway is on the south front, and is approached by a long flight of steps leading to the porch. This is flanked by classic columns, with an entablature above them; on a panel on the porch is the date 1583. The classic detail is confined to the porch and the tops of the bay windows; the string-courses and windows show the Gothic tradition. The roof is flat, and has a battlemented parapet. There are no gables, but the bay windows are carried up above the parapet, and there is a lantern of stone, from which access to the roof is obtained. Some of the original iron vanes remain on this lantern; they bear the initials J. R., those of John Rodes, the son of Francis.

The porch leads into the hall, probably, as Mr. Gotch supposes, into the passage at the end known as the "screens;" all traces of a division have gone, but its probable position can readily be seen by a reference to a plan of the house. At the dais end of the hall is a bay window, and a door leading to the great chamber. This is a fine apartment, with an ornamental plaster ceiling of good design; it also contains a beautiful mantelpiece, the upper part of which sets forth in brief the history of the builder of the house. We learn that it was erected in

1584, when he was fifty-eight years of age; that he was a Justice of the Common Pleas, and was twice married; and the names and arms of his wives are given—Elizabeth Sandford and Maria Charlton. On either side of these heraldic achievements are caryatide figures, one being represented with the scales and sword of Justice, no doubt in allusion to the owner's avocation.

At the close of the seventeenth century the house was renovated and repanelled. The date, 1697, is to be found on the mantel in the hall; the work done at this time is not of especial interest. The library contains a series of autographs and letters of Henry VIII: Elizabeth, with the date 1586; Bess of Hardwick, Devonshire, 1671; and others.

The gardens present a fine example of the old formal method, with simple cut yew-trees and straight walks close to the house. Further away they are less conventional, but form a beautiful setting to the house, which is seen reflected in the waters of the large fish-pond, mingled with the leaves and flowers of the lilies: the whole being typical of the repose and quiet of an English country home.

It had been arranged that the drive should be resumed to Kiveton Park Station in time to catch the 5.25 train to Sheffield, but it was impossible without hurrying over the programme to do this; and the party eventually returned to Worksop, and from there took a later train back to the city.

In the evening there was to have been a meeting at the Town Hall, when a paper would have been read by the president, Mr. R. E. Leader. However, owing to the lateness of the return of the party, and the slight indisposition of both the president and the honorary treasurer, Dr. W. de Gray Birch, the meeting was postponed to another evening.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH.

This morning about eighty members and friends made an early start, as the day's programme included Beauchief Abbey, Chesterfield, and Winfield Manor. Of Beauchief Abbey nothing remains but the massive western tower of the church, which has had an insignificant little seventeenth-century church tacked on to it—a curious anomaly. Dr. Stokes, Hon. Local Treasurer, gave the following description of this interesting monastic foundation:—

NOTES ON BEAUCHIEF ABBEY.

Beauchief Abbey was founded by Robert FitzRanulph, 21st Dec., 1183, as an expiation for his share in the murder of Thomas à-Becket

(29th December, 1170). Although not one of the four chief murderers, as stated by Sir William Dugdale, there is the evidence of an eye-witness—FitzStephen—that he was present. It is also known that at a later period FitzRanulph became a canon of this house, and in the obituary he is described as "canon and founder."

The Abbey was founded in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr, and belonged to the Premonstratensian branch (Norbertines) of the Canons Regular of the Augustinian order, generally known from their dress as White Canons, and was probably in the first instance colonized from Welbeck. It was dissolved February 4th, 1535-6, having then an annual income of £126 3s. 4d. Little now remains of the buildings, as these were used as a quarry by the people of the district; and it is generally supposed that the neighbouring hall, erected in the seventeenth century, was built with stone obtained from this source.

The bells were removed to Darfield Church. There is a local tradition that Great Tom of Lincoln Cathedral once belonged to Beauchief, but evidence in support of this is very doubtful.

In an Inventory dated August 2nd, 28th year of Henry VIII, mention is made of the hall, buttery, kitchen, bakehouse, the "Abbot's chambre, Rogr Eyre's chambre, Greenleyff chambre, chapel chamber, Gatehouse chambre, and Sekman chambre," and also reference is made to the Grange.

With the exception of the tower and a portion of the original nave, all traces of these buildings have disappeared. The tower is of the fourteenth century, but has lost about one-third of its original height, the belfry stage, shown on Buck's view of 1727 having now disappeared. The western doorway is of an earlier date, and is of the Transitional period. Above this is a large window, now blocked up, but containing evidence of the flowing tracery with which it was once filled.

The details of the buttresses on this tower are similar to those on the chancel of Dronfield Church (a living held by the canons of Beauchief), which is clearly of about the middle of the fourteenth century.

On either side of the tower, doorways have been erected in recent years. These have been removed from their original positions and rebuilt; one is of the late twelfth century, round-arched, the other is of the fourteenth century. At Osberton, the seat of the Foljambes, is preserved the old altar-piece of the abbey: it is of alabaster, and depicts the murder of Thomas à-Becket.

The present building contains old square pews of the seventeenth century, and various coats-of-arms of the Pegge family; it is now used

for service on Sunday afternoons, is in the Liberty of Beauchief, and is extra-parochial.

Train was then taken for Chesterfield, where the church, with its quaint twisted spire, was visited. This is too well known to require detailed notice. It was described by Mr. R. T. Gratton, an enthusiastic local antiquary, who pointed out that the tower, spire, transepts and nave, and south-west porch, which are in the Decorated style, were probably built about 1350, when that style was in its prime. The spire is not built of stone—which would have been too heavy for the tower to support—but of wood covered with lead, the lightest materials of which a spire could be built. It speaks its age, from its being a necessary part of "Decorated" architecture, and from its octagonal form, the octagon being much used at that period for fonts, spires, etc., as symbolic of the new creation. The oldest part of the present "restored" building is to be found in the south chapel of the chancel. This contains the celebrated Foljambe monuments. There is a remarkable fourteenth-century tomb in the south wall of the nave, almost hidden by pews, with an early form of crocket and finial canopy, which contains the effigy of a priest placed the wrong way about—i.e., with his feet to the east instead of to the west—so Mr. Gratton said; but the effigy was evidently not intended originally for its present position.

Lunch was partaken of at the Hotel Portland, where the landlord provided the first grouse of the season, killed early in the morning, some twelve miles away, on the moors, and brought by bicycle for the delectation of the visitors: an attention which was much appreciated. Train was then taken for Winfield, or Wingfield (as the railway has made it), where the famous manor, which stands south of Yorkshire, just across the Derbyshire border, and is now in a state of complete ruin, was visited. It was built in 1441 by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Treasurer of the Exchequer, and sold by him to John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury; it was a magnificent dwelling, and a splendid example of the transition from military to domestic architecture. It was the country seat of a great nobleman, but it was built in times when means of defence were still necessary. It was, therefore, protected by a moat, strong gates, towers and earthworks, and provision was made for a garrison. Its designers, however, were artists, and their work, though strong in the military sense, was also of rare beauty. Nothing now remains except the bare walls and some winding staircases; but windows, fireplaces, drains, and other things, help the imagination to fill in what is missing. The house is built in

the best style of Perpendicular, and the tracery of some of the windows, including the fine bay window in the banqueting-hall, is particularly good. Beneath this hall there is a great vaulted crypt, with massively-ribbed groined arches, and decorative carving on the bosses at the intersections and on the caps of the piers, about whose use there is some uncertainty. Some would make it a chapel; others a mere store-room; others the armoury of the establishment; others the retainers' hall; but the most plausible theory, and the one that was approved by the majority of the archæologists present, seems to be that it was a barrack-room for the men-at-arms; and its four exits, leading off in every direction, appear to have been provided that the garrison might take their posts without any delay on a sudden alarm.

When Queen Mary was at Winfield, her establishment numbered more than 300 persons. Her own retinue is said to have consisted of "five gentlemen, fourteen servitours, three cooks, four boyes, three gentilmen's men, two wives, the wenches and children." She had four good coach-horses, and her gentlemen six; and the queen and her suite drank about ten tuns of wine a year. Relays of men ceaselessly watched the queen's apartments, and the precincts of the manor were closely guarded. In all 210 officers and soldiers were employed on this duty. There must have been exciting times at Winfield when Queen Mary was there, but still more exciting times were to follow; and it was amid the clash of arms in the tumultuous days of the Civil Wars that Winfield Manor, after having served the purposes of both sides, came to destruction. When the war broke out, it was in the hands of the Earl of Pembroke, who had married a daughter of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. Pembroke, siding with the Parliament, garrisoned the place with Roundheads, but the Earl of Newcastle captured it after a four days' siege. Cavaliers then became the garrison, and withstood a much longer siege, lasting some months. Their artillery was their strength, but at length the besiegers brought "four great pieces" against them; a big hole was made in the walls, the garrison surrendered, and the great days of Winfield were ended. By a decree of June 23rd, 1646, in which the Parliament announced their determination to destroy every place which might serve as a "nest for malignants," it was dismantled and reduced to ruin.

The manor and its history were described by Mr. J. B. Mitchell-Withers, of Sheffield, whose Paper has been printed above, pp. 146 to 152.

There was no evening meeting; but at a dinner given by the members to the President and local officers, Dr. Birch took occasion to

enlarge on the work done by the Association during the sixty years of its existence, and referred to the fact that it was now celebrating, under most auspicious conditions, its diamond jubilee.

NOTE.—The following names were omitted in the previously published list of the local members of Congress, and are now added to make that list as complete as possible:—

A. H. Allen.	Miss E. Leader.
E. T. Atkin.	Dr. Harold Leader.
J. H. Brammall.	Gill Parker.
H. P. Burdekin.	Mrs. Ryland.
Miss D. Butler.	G. Jackson Smith.
J. H. Doncaster.	Miss Staniforth.
Ald. G. Franklin.	H. Stirling.
Mr. H. Habershon.	W. Walker.
Mrs. Jackson	T. H. Ward.
Mias Jackson.	Dr. G. W. Williamson.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20TH, 1904.

MR. R. E. LEADER, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

Matthew Macnair, Esq., 1, Morris Place, Monteith Road, Glasgow.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Index to the Literature of Thorium, 1817-1902," by Cavalier Jouet, Ph.D. ; "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. i, Parts 1 and 2, 1904.

„ *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, for "Proceedings," No. XLIV, 1901.

„ *Royal Institute of British Architects*, for vol. xi, Third Series, Parts 6 to 10, 1904.

„ *Rev. H. J. D. Astley, M.A.*, for "Tree and Pillar Worship," *Transactions R. S. L.*, vol. xxiv ; and "Two Norfolk Villages," 1901.

„ *M. Hippolyte Verly*, for "Les Monuments Cryptiques du Nord de la France, 1902."

Mr. A. R. Goddard exhibited a curious Matabele knife, also an early seventeenth-century carving knife, which Mr. Parkin, of Sheffield, said corresponded in every respect to similar articles manufactured at Sheffield at the present day.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, exhibited a fine example of calligraphy in the shape of a copybook "by John Ayres, master of ye writing-School near St. Pauls free School in London, sold by ye Author at ye hand and Pen in Paul's Church yard," dated August, 1683. Spare leaves at the end of the book had been filled at a later date with

curious old woodcuts of animals, thought to be from early blocks by Bewick.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley read the following letter from Mr. Geo. W. Miller, of Chislehurst, with reference to the discoveries there; in which the extract from a letter of M. Hippolyte Verly shows that that distinguished savant is of opinion, from his own experience in similar explorations, that the opposite theories of Mr. Nichols and Mr. Forster with regard to the antiquity of the caves may both be correct.

" White House, Chislehurst,

" April 9th,

"DEAR SIR,—M. Hippolyte Verly, President de la Commission Historique du Nord, has requested me to present in his name the enclosed monograph on the cryptic remains in the North of France, to the library of the British Archaeological Association. Seeing that the analogous cases at Chislehurst have been much under discussion during the past two Sessions, M. Verly's work, with its excellent illustrations, should be of interest to members. I recently sent M. Verly a series of photographs of our caves, together with the first paper read at a meeting of the Association by Mr. W. Nichols, and a plan which Mr. Nichols had made since then.

"In his letter of acknowledgement M. Verly writes : ' Ces cryptes de Chislehurst me paraissent exceptionnellement majestueuses. Or que vous me dites de leur structure, de la correction de leurs murs, et de l'élégance des voûtes, écarte absolument, ce me semble, l'hypothèse d'une exploitation industrielle. À l'évidence, de pareilles cryptes ont été des habitations humaines. Il se peut qu'à des époques plus rapprochées, et en raison de la nature du sol, on y ait pratiqué des extractions de calcaire. Mais assurément l'origine est autre. Les archéologues, à mon avis, doivent se défier d'une confusion que voici : c'est nécessairement dans les terrains calcaires que les hommes de la période lithique se sont creusés des abris, et c'est dans les mêmes terrains que les constructeurs de toute époque sont allés chercher la matière de leurs mortiers, superpositions de travail qui désorientent les savants et les conduit souvent à des conclusions tout à fait fausses. Peut-être vos magnifiques souterrains présentent-ils un de ces cas embarrassants et complexes'."

" I am, Dear Sir,

" Yours faithfully,

" GEORGE W. MILLER.

" Rev. H. J. D. Astley."

A Paper was read by Mr. Leader on "Sheffield Cutlery and the Poll Tax of 1379," which will be published.

Mr. Goddard, Mr. Gould, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Williams, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Mr. Kershaw, Dr. Birch, and others, joined in the discussion. A second Paper was read by Mr. Patrick in the absence of the author, Mr. A. Denton Cheney. This was entitled "Shepway Cross and the ancient Court of Shepway," and will be published.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 4TH, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.; COL. SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.

REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Honorary Treasurer.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Council.

REV. H. CART, M.A.

W. DERHAM, Esq., M.A., LL.M.

THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.

RICHARD HOBSFALL, Esq.

T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

BASIL LAWRENCE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

A. OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, *Hon. Editorial Secretary*, read the following:—

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1903.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1903:

"(1.) The number of Associates has very considerably increased as compared with several years past. This is partly due to the Congress held at Sheffield, which was a gratifying success, both financially and as adding strength to the Association ; and to the individual efforts of our Vice-President, Mr. W. J. Nichols, who has set an example which all the members would do well to follow. The Associates now number over 300, after deducting all losses from death or resignation.

"(2.) Obituary notices of Associates continue to be inserted as opportunity offers.

"(3.) The Library, as announced in our issue for April, is now housed in University College, Gower Street, and is constantly receiving additions in the shape of valuable presents. The catalogue is published, and can be obtained for 1s.

"(4.) Thirteen of the Papers read at the Westminster Congress, and during the winter in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1903, which is illustrated with twenty-five plates and process blocks, many of which are contributed by the writers of the Papers, to whom the Council hereby accords hearty thanks. A considerable stock of Papers is in the hands of the Editor, of which those approved by the Council will be published as the space at his disposal permits.

"(5.) The meetings of the Association are now held monthly, on the third Wednesday in the months from November to June. This has not diminished the amount of literary matter supplied, as two Papers have been read at each meeting, and both in Exhibits and Papers the Association is well up-to-date.

"Local Members of Council and the Associates, as a body, are again earnestly invited to supply accounts and, if possible, photographs or illustrations of new discoveries or interesting events, at the earliest practicable opportunity.

"H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, } *Hon.*
 "GEORGE PATRICK, } *Secs.*"

Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Treasurer, read the following :—

Treasurer's Report.

"The Treasurer has the pleasure of reporting that the deficit of last year, December, 1902, has been turned into a substantial surplus at the end of 1903, as will be seen by the Balance Sheet. He would desire to impress on the Associates the necessity of paying their subscriptions early in the year. It is hoped that at an early moment the state of the funds will warrant the Treasurer in proposing that the quarterly *Journal* may be resumed, in place of only publishing three parts a year."

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER, 1903.

RECEIPTS.

1903.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	200	9	6
" Entrance Fees	8	8	0
" Proceeds of the Sheffield Congress	60	9	3
" Sale of Books	15	4	4
" Donation to Illustration Costs	2	0	0
" Balance at Bank, January 1st	73	2	1

£359 13 2

Jan. 1st, 1904.	£	s.	d.
To Deposit in P. O. Savings Bank	50	0	0
" Balance at Bank of England	275	1	11
Less Cheque outstanding	5	0	0
Credit Balance, subject to Liability to Printer of £58 3s.	70	1	11
	£120	1	11

Capital Account—December 31st, 1903.

	£	s.	d.
Investment in Consols	[Cost £3	1	11]
"	[8	16 10]
"	9	2	3
	£12	1	0

EXPENDITURE.

1903.	£	s.	d.
By Advertising in the <i>Athenæum</i>	3	4	8
" Warehousing Stock	2	2	0
" Printer's Bills, paid	136	17	11
" Illustrations, paid	4	4	6
" Treasurer and Sub-treasurer	30	0	0
" Editor	21	1	0
" Secretary	10	5	0
" Rent for Year	13	13	0
" Archaeological Index Bill	2	3	9
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i> and other Postages	12	1	9
" Tea at Evening Meetings	3	17	8
" Deposit in P. O. Savings Bank	50	0	0
" Balance at Bank of England, December 31st	70	1	11

£359 13 2

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct, 31 March, 1904.

(Signed) Cecil T. Davis }
R. H. Forster } Auditors.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18TH, 1904.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Rev. C. T. Astley, Summer Bank, Llandudno, N. Wales.

Mr. William Wesley, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rüffer, of Menibal, 51, Crystal Palace Park Road, S.E.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxvi, Part 1.

„ Brussels Archæological Society for "Journal," 1904.

„ Society of Antiquaries, Scotland for "Proceedings," 1902-1903.

„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," vol. xxxiv, Part 1, 1904.

„ Kent Archæological Society for "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. xxvi.

„ Smithsonian Institution for "Twentieth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, 1898-99."

„ Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia for "Report," 1903.

A Paper was read by Mr. R. H. Forster, on "Durham and other North-Country Sanctuaries."

A second Paper was read by the Chairman, on the question "Can Votive Offerings be the Subject of Treasure Trove?" which supplemented his previous paper read on December 16th last, upon the recent decision of Mr. Justice Farwell that the finds at Lough Foyle were "treasure trove," and belonged to the Crown as such.

Both these Papers will be published. Time did not allow of any discussion upon them.

At the Council in the afternoon the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Patrick, called attention to the needless and persistent destruction by the Town Council of Berwick-on-Tweed of the Edwardian walls of that interesting old town; and the greatest regret was expressed that the Town Council were unable to appreciate the value of the remains of the ancient glory and history of their town. Printed slips describing the present condition of the walls and towers, forwarded by Dr. King, the Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick-on-Tweed, were circulated at the evening meeting.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15TH, 1904.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Society of Antiquaries for "Scheme for Recording Ancient Defensive Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures."

„ *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for "Journal," vol. xxvi, 1904.*

„ *Royal Archaeological Institute for "Journal," vol. lx, No. 240, December, 1903.*

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley exhibited a volume of sermons preached in various parts of Norfolk during the Commonwealth period, entitled "*Præterita: a Summary of Sermons by John Ramsay, Minister of East Rudham. Printed by Thos. Creak, for William Reade, at his house over against ye Bear Tavern in Fleet Street, 1660.*"

Mr. S. W. Kershaw said the dedication of the first sermon in the volume to Mr. James Duport offered interesting data as to the family of Duport, who had settled in East Anglia, as refugees from France. The name Duport has also been connected with Caius College, Cambridge. The sermons preached in Norfolk would naturally lend themselves in dedication to one of a noted local family.

Mr. Patrick exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Winder, of Sheffield, a curious earthenware water-pipe, about 12 in. in length and 4 in. in diameter externally. Each pipe at one end is shouldered to form a neck 3 in. in diameter, for insertion into the next pipe, where the two were joined with a very hard cement. The pipes are of a rich brown glaze outside, very like Brampton ware, but where broken the section shows a close-grained bluish earthenware. At the thick end of some of them there is a narrow band sunk, about $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of an inch wide, and half that in depth, having raised dots, about six to an inch, in the circumference. About 3 in. from the neck the pipe is rough, the surface of the rest of the length to the band being quite smooth. A broken pipe shows the interior to have corrugations, more or less spiral, like the thread of a screw, the corrugations being about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from ridge to ridge. Some twenty to thirty of these pipes were dug out of an old cart-track, 7 to 8 ft. below the general level of the ground, the pipes themselves being from 2 to 3 ft. below the track level, in Canklow Wood, near Rotherham. The site is within a mile of Templeborough Roman camp; but whether they had any relation

to the camp, or are of Roman or mediæval origin, there is no evidence to show.

A Paper was read by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley upon a subject which at first sight might seem to have but little relation to archæology, viz. : "Was Primitive Man Ambidextrous?" but the Paper was instructive and very interesting.

Mr. Astley deduced from the many implements discovered in Kent, in France, and elsewhere, belonging to the so-called Eolithic Age, which he preferred to call the "Proto-Palæolithic Age," adapted for use by the left hand, and almost as numerous as those for use by the right hand, that from the earliest period man was an ambidextrous being. As we descend the stream of time to the dawn of history, we find man continuing to use both hands impartially. Palæolithic Man, in his artistic representations of animals, birds, etc., drawn on rock and pieces of bone with equal facility from both left and right, must have been ambidextrous, although for purposes of warfare he had begun to use his right hand for offence and reserve the left for defence. The Neolithic Age affords evidence in the pounders, knives, scrapers, borers, and hammers that, for purposes of domestic life, man still used both hands indifferently. In the Bronze Age, all weapons were hafted, so that there is no actual evidence forthcoming as to the use of the left hand ; but that the right hand had not yet finally obtained the victory may be deduced from the fact that the Semites, Greeks, and Romans, at least apparently, wrote first by preference with the left hand, and that the early Greeks and Romans wrote impartially with both. It was not until well within the historic period that the right hand finally achieved the predominance it has maintained to the present day.

Mr. Cheney, Mr. MacMichael, the Chairman, and others took part in the discussion which followed.

The Paper will be published *in extenso*, under the auspices of the Ambidextral Culture Society, before which body, and in furtherance of whose objects, it was originally read.

N.B.—The Editor has received a number of Books for notice in the pages of the *Journal*, but the Reviews of these, together with other antiquarian intelligence, and the Obituary Notices, are unavoidably postponed owing to the exigencies of space.



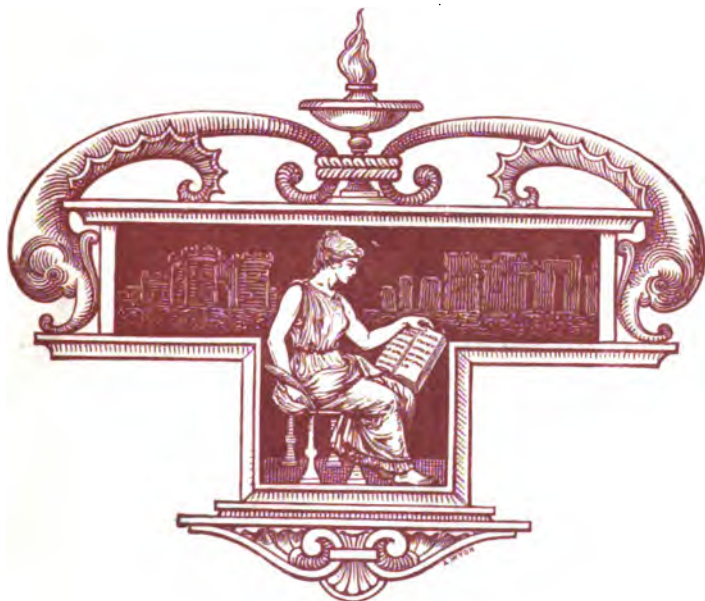
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE
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INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
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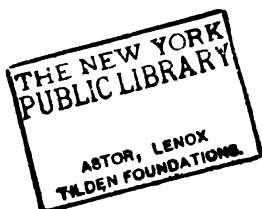


THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1904.



NOTES ON THE FOREST OF GALTRES. ✓

By S. W. KERSHAW, F.S.A.

(Read, in connection with the Sheffield Congress, January 20th, 1904.)



THE traveller from York about fifteen miles northwards will now little realize he is traversing this ancient forest, one of the most important districts in old times in the county of Yorkshire.

Few local historians refer in detail to this tract, described by one writer as a "Royal demesne, and preserved as a place of amusement for the British and Saxon Kings."

In like way, Hatfield Chase, about seven miles east of Doncaster, had in the centre of the ground a King's Palace; and De la Pryme, in his interesting *Yorkshire Diary* (vol. liv, Surtees Society), mentions that in 1694 "there is part of the Palace standing, being an indifferent large hall, with great courts and a garden."

Galtres, like other forests, has played its part in history, and specially came into prominence during the Commonwealth transference of property. All the district around was woody, a fact corroborated in Stukeley's *Diaries* (another Yorkshire annalist), who in 1694 wrote:

"We have a town not far from Tadcaster, called Haslewood; all the country thereabout was woody: you have Outwood and Cane Wood and the *forest of Gaultrees*."

Galtres anciently extended from the North Wall of York as far as Easingwold and Craik. It comprised about sixty townships, and nearly 100,000 acres, and continued a Royal Forest till 1770, when an Act of Parliament was obtained for its division and enclosure.

The word "Galtres" by some is said to be derived from the British "Cal a tre," which signifies "Nemus ad urbem," or, as the Romans called it, "Calaterium nemus," a woody place or forest. That it was a hunting-ground of the Saxon and Norman Kings is beyond dispute; when the former had established their heptarchy, the forests were reserved by each sovereign for his own amusement, and they seem to have appropriated those lands which were unoccupied.

Galtres abounded with deer, and this part of Yorkshire was in early times called Deira, or Deerland.

The pastime of hunting seems to have been held in remembrance by a figure of a wild boar, pursued and surrounded with hounds, slain by a man armed with shield and lance, and carved over the north gate of the west end of York Minster.¹

The government of Galtres and other northern forests forms a distinct phase of history. After the Yorkshire rising of 1536, what was called the "Council of the North" was formed and established at York. This council became a sort of Northern Parliament, and existed till the Civil War, when Charles I altered its enactments, by bringing them into conflict with a large portion of his subjects and with the Parliament of Westminster: another instance of the feeble Stuart policy, which often paralyzed and weakened England's welfare. The Council had supervision in Yorkshire and four northern counties, exercising civil jurisdiction; and it is likely that matters affecting forest laws were carried to this higher tribunal.

¹ Whether this remains at present is uncertain.

Mention of the boundaries of Galtres is found in the *Perambulation of the Forest* (9 Edward II, 1316), a document now preserved at the Record Office, London. About 1225, we read certain appointed persons were sent throughout England to choose in each of the forest districts twelve knights or freemen to perambulate the bounds, and to determine which forests ought to remain in their present state and which ought to be deforested. Galtres reached to the foot of Creakhill, near Easingwold, and its principal town was Sutton-in-the-Forest. In Camden's *Britannia* (1789) the forest is marked on the map, and that writer speaks of it as "a place shaded with trees in some places, in others swampy; at present famous for its horse-races, in which the horse that wins is entitled to a little gold bell." Leland's description is much the same, as "moorish and low ground and having little wood, but the higher part reasonably wooded and abounded in wild deer."

At All Hallows, York, a light was formerly placed at nightfall, in the octagonal tower, as a beacon to guide wayfarers through the dense approaches to the forest.

Leland also states that Galtres is the "*Calaterium nemus*" of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Through this ancient forest the river Foss flowed, rising near Craike Castle and joining the Ouse at York; the channel of this river was formed by the Romans to effect the drainage of a level tract that lay between the Ouse and the Hambleton hills. Of this stream Leland wrote: "It is slow, yet able to bear a good vessel, and ryseth in *nemore Calaterio*, or among the wooded hills now called Galtres Forest." This tract was then a most interesting portion of what is known as the Vale of York.

Having taken a glance at the early annals of Galtres, I now refer to some MSS. in Lambeth Library, which touch on its history in the seventeenth century. In that collection are the "Shrewsbury papers," seventeen volumes in folio, numbered from 694 to 710, comprising letters written to or by several of the Earls of Shrewsbury. Many are original and of great interest;

others are transcripts, and consist of stewards' accounts, charges and domestic affairs, as well as public matters much associated with the North of England.

In vol. xv (No. 708) are letters relating to the forest of Galtres, and from these I have extracted some brief notes. In this volume also are various papers relating to the government of the forest :—

1607. (No. 71).—"To the Earl of Shrewsbury concerning the deputy bow-bearer in the forest of Galtres ; also about building a mill in the forest, which will be a hindrance to the place where the deer feed."

Other letters refer to disputes in the Forest Courts and to the keeper of the game.

1603.—Relates to keeping the forest in order, and selecting a Verderer. From Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, recommending Mr. Hildyard as overseer, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Chief Justice in the North.

1604. (No. 127).—"From Mr. Hildyard, complaining of sheep and cattle being put into the forest, of trees being felled, of only two keepers: the more he looks into the forest affairs, the harder he finds to redress them."

The letters above named are written in a fairly clear hand of the period, and may be compared with those in the Record Office ("Domestic Series," Reign of James I), which are fuller in their contents than the Lambeth series, as illustrating this subject.

Some of the extracts from the Rolls Papers are as follows :—

1608. *The King to the Earl of Shrewsbury*.—"Orders him to enforce the execution of the forest laws in Galtres, where deer are much diminished, and to prevent the tenants keeping too many cattle there; to expel sheep and order certain proportions of hay for the use of the deer."—*Domestic State Papers, James I.*

1611.—"Lord Sheffield hears of an intention of disforesting divers forests, hopes Galtres will be saved."

Many orders occur for grants of office of bow-bearer, forester, and steward. In these letters the offices of

"riding forester," as well as a "foot forester," are mentioned.

In the reign of Charles I, we read of that King's usurpation of this and other forest tracts for his own use, much to the hurt of the people's enjoyment; and in 1630 a warrant to Lord Wentworth (President of the North) to preserve the woods and deer in Galtres, "for better storing a park of 1,000 acres, that his Majesty intends to have in some convenient place."

The intimate relations between the Government of the North and the forests elucidate many local customs, small perhaps in themselves, but bearing on the maintenance of these woods.

The Commonwealth wrought a change in this, as in other Crown lands; the disafforesting took place, and lands were assigned in lieu of common to the fifteen townships interested, especially Easingwold, Sheriff-Hutton, and others; and suggesting in 1651 that a Commission should be issued to discover what has been made by the sale of Galtres forest. In 1637, the settlement of some French and Walloon refugees in Galtres offers an interesting historical fact; these "strangers," so-called, had previously settled in Hatfield Chase, where they had a congregation at Sandtoft Church. They became better tenants in Galtres than previous occupants on the now disforested lands. Houses were built for the newcomers, and Charles I licensed a service in French, to which the Archbishop of York assented, as well as providing an allowance for the minister. The settlement is described at full length in Baron Schickler's scholarly work on the *Churches of the Refuge in England*, 1892, vol. ii, pp. 55, 56. The barren land was cultivated by the refugees, and skilled labour introduced. A similar treatment took place in Hatfield Chase, where by the energy of a Dutch engineer, one Vermuyden, in the reign of James I, all former forest waste was drained and made fit for use. De la Pryme, whose Journal I have before quoted, is replete with interesting facts on this matter.

In 1644, Prince Rupert lodged his army in the forest of Galtres before the fatal battle of Marston Moor, when

some parts of the forest were entirely stript of wood. After the Commonwealth, Galtres disappears in a way from history, and in 1770 an Act for its enclosure was passed; and this ancient tract, that has had a long and varied past, became merged into the surrounding districts.

The forest laws were closely associated with the great Charter of England, and their local differences and customs recall many primitive usages, valuable alike to the historian and antiquary.





LAUGHTON-EN-LA-MORTHEN CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

BY REV. T. RIGBY, VICAR.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 13th, 1903.)



THE church in which we are now assembled was carefully examined during the recent restoration, and we find that this is the third church that has been built on the same site. Each of these churches has been built of a different kind of stone, which can be easily distinguished. All the three churches have been of the same length, as I shall presently show you, and portions of the two previous churches were incorporated in the present building. You will find the three doorways of the three churches built within one another, at the west end of the north wall. These can be best seen from the outside of the church.

The first church was of Saxon origin, and was built of a reddish kind of grit-stone, supposed to have been obtained from the neighbouring parish of Wickersley, where many of the grinding-stones used in the Sheffield trades are still quarried. Of this church there still remains the west end and part of the north wall of the north aisle, the lower portions of the chancel walls, and the piscina in the south wall of the sanctuary; thus showing that the first church was of the same length as the present church.

The Saxon doorway is considered by some to be a good specimen of carpenter's masonry, and to mark the transition period from wooden to stone building. The remarkable thing about the Saxon walls at the north-

west end of the church is that they have been built without foundations, as we understand the term. The lowest stones in these walls are plainly visible from the outside of the church. What was the end of this first church we have no information. It may be that it was destroyed in that war of revenge in 1069, when William the First declared that, in consequence of the rebellion, headed by Earls Edwin and Morcar, their territory should be made a desert. It is a significant fact when, fourteen years after the survey recorded in *Domesday Book* was completed, the lands of Edwin and Morcar were entered as "*wasta*"—laid waste. This would account for there being no mention of a church at Laughton-en-la-Morthen in *Domesday Book*, and also for an Early Norman church having been built at the other end of this village, and within ten minutes' walk from this church. The greater part of that ancient church—dedicated to St. John the Baptist—still remains, but is enclosed in walls of a much more recent date, and of no great beauty.

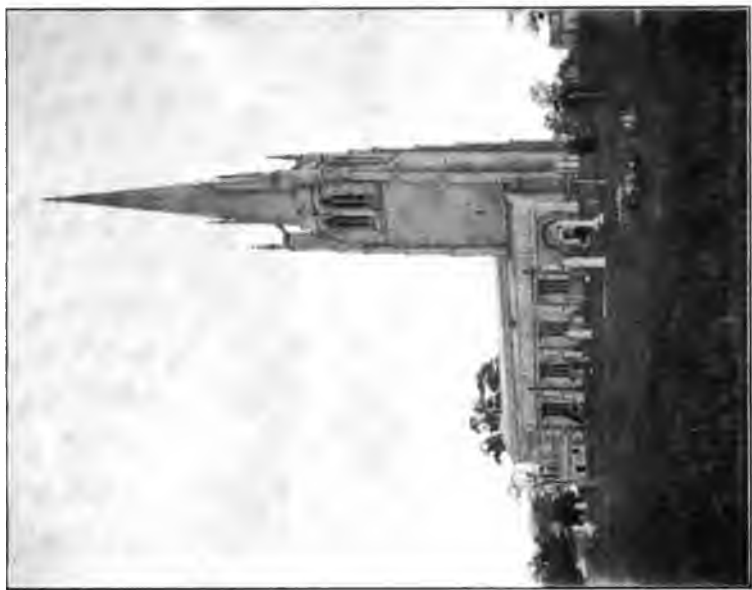
Whatever was the fate of the first church here, the Vicar knows to his sorrow that William the Conqueror confiscated the tithes of Laughton, and they were held by the Crown until the year 1107, when Henry I gave them to York Minster, and the prebendal stall of Laughton-en-la-Morthen was founded in that cathedral.

The second church was Late Norman, and built of Roche Abbey stone. Of this church, there remains incorporated with the present church the cylindrical columns with square capitals, on the north side of the nave, the stone screen at the entrance of the chancel, and the tracery of the Norman windows and doorway, which were inserted in the Saxon walls of the chancel.

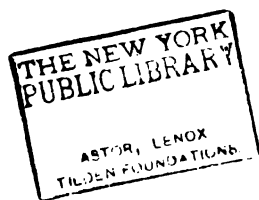
This second church was destroyed during the insurrection of the Barons in the reign of Edward II. In 1322, a petition was presented to Parliament, in which the then inhabitants of Laughton complained that John de Mowbray—that is, Lord Mowbray of the Isle of Axholme—and other adherents of the Earl of Lancaster, had despoiled their church, and carried away their cattle, in their attack upon Laughton. They were answered that "they might recover against the survivors by writ of trespass."



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN : SAXON DOORWAY.



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN : FROM NORTH.



(Mowbray had been executed at York.) In the destruction of the second church, the north-west corner of the first church and the chancel were spared, either from motives of reverence or superstition.

We now come to the present fourteenth-century church. On the centre window of the south aisle, forming the terminals of the weather-board, you will find the crowned heads of Edward III and his queen, and on the corresponding window of the north aisle the crowned heads of Richard II and his queen. This is considered to indicate that this church was erected in the closing years of Edward III and the beginning of the reign of Richard II, say, about 1377. If this was so, then the second church must have laid in ruins for half a century. Probably Parliament was slow to move, and the money difficult to obtain, in those turbulent times. Besides, there was St. John's Church, sufficiently large to accommodate all the parishioners for public worship.

This church is built of stone, quarried at Slade Horton, a hamlet in this parish. The excellent quality of this as a building stone is proved by the fact that, although this church was built nearly five and a-half centuries ago, there is not a bad stone in it at the present time.

I often think what a saving it would have been to the nation if the stones for building the Houses of Parliament at Westminster had been obtained from Slade Horton instead of North Unston, the distance between the two places being less than four miles.

This church is dedicated to All Saints, and consists, as you see, of north and south aisles, nave, chancel, tower, and spire, with flying buttresses. The tower and spire rise to the height of 185 ft. from the level of the churchyard. When this church was built the walls of chancel appear to have been raised, the Norman windows replaced by the present windows, and the old Saxon walls strengthened by the erection of buttresses. The lady-chapel was at the east end of the south aisle, and there are traces of where it was screened off from the rest of the church. The piscina still remains. The small arch in the south wall of the chancel is formed from the doorway of the second church. To make room for the per-

pendicular window, one side of this doorway of the second church had to be broken up. For what purpose the recess within the arch was made it is impossible to say. It may have been a mere whim of the builders.

Architects who have visited many of the English and Continental churches inform me that the double cherubims formed on the base of the arches of this church are very uncommon in England, but frequently found in the churches of Normandy. This shows that the architect of this church, whoever he might be, was familiar with the churches of Normandy. The local tradition is that this church was built by William of Wykeham, and there is this fact to support it. William of Wykeham was appointed Prebend of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in York Minster, in 1363; and one can hardly think that so good a churchman and so consummate an architect as William of Wykeham undoubtedly was would be content to receive the tithes of Laughton without making an effort to rebuild the church, which he must have known was then lying in ruins. It may have been through his great influence with Edward the Third that the money was at last forthcoming to erect this church.

The Rev. John Raine, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Blyth, Worksop, took a great interest in this question, and was a firm believer in the local tradition. He concludes an essay he wrote in support of his theory with these words:—"Henceforth, then, let the educated gentleman, whether cleric or lay, when he approaches Laughton Church, remember that he has before his eyes a work of him who was once Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor of England; who, by his tact, sound sense, and good feeling exemplified through life the truth of his own motto, 'Manners makyth man,' and who will be remembered to all posterities for evermore as the architect of Windsor Castle and the founder of Winchester School and New College, Oxford."

Fifty years ago the nave of this church was re-roofed, and a gallery under the tower removed by Mr. Gilbert Scott. We regret that the oak roof of the nave was not

replaced, and that the several shields of arms¹ which were in the windows in Dodsworth's time have not been preserved.

Ten years ago the wall of the north aisle was so much out of the perpendicular as to be certified to be unsafe, and money was raised for taking it down and rebuilding it. When this was done, the roof of the aisle was lifted bodily, and propped until the wall was taken down and rebuilt. Every stone in the wall was numbered, taken down course by course, and laid out in the churchyard. When the foundations were reached, it was found that they had been undermined by a spring of water, so the excavation was carried down to the rock, and new foundations laid up to the level of the old foundations; then these were relaid, and the stones of the wall brought back course by course, and placed where we found them. Fourteen feet of the apex of the spire had to be taken down, in consequence of the iron dowels having corroded and burst the stones into such small fragments that they had to be taken down in bags. These were replaced by new stones, kindly supplied by the owner of Slade Horton (Hull) estate, and fastened together by copper dowels. All the iron ties were removed from the pinnacles and flying buttresses, and copper ties substituted. Inside the church the plaster was removed from the walls, and the colour wash and paint from the columns. The high square boxes, called pews, were removed. The church was re-floored, and open benches provided for the seating. This work was completed by May, 1896, when the church was reopened by the Archbishop of York.

Hunter supposes that the two kneeling figures on the north wall of the chancel are intended to represent Ralph Hadfeild and Margaret, his wife. Ralph Hadfeild was the first of that family to settle at Laughton. They resided at Laughton Hall, which is now in ruins, except the kitchens, which are used as a farmhouse. James Fisher, the Puritan Vicar of Sheffield (from 1646 to 1662), married a daughter (Elizabeth) of this family, March 7,

¹ These were—the arms of Archbishop Kemp: the arms of Cressy, and a quarterly Talbot and Furnival for one of the Earls of Shrewsbury. Allen's *History of York*, 1831.

1640, and is buried in the Hatfield vault in the chancel of this church.

You will find the pre-Reformation altar-stone at the east end of the south aisle. We found it buried a few feet from where it is now placed. Hunter gives a list of the Vicars of this church from 1319. The church registers date from 1547.

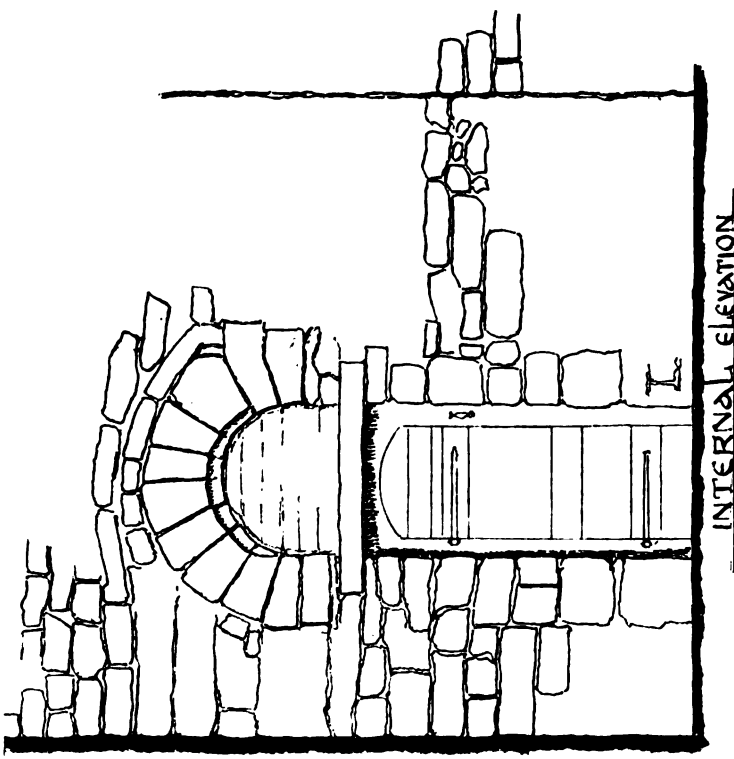
During the Commonwealth William Beckwith, of Thurcroft Hall, was Surrogate. He borrowed the church register, and entered in it all the marriages that took place before him. On the south wall of the chancel there is a marble slab on which is recorded a charity left to his parish by a descendant of this William Beckwith. It ends with this startling information:—"He died March 9th, 1819, aged 196 years." The explanation is that when the mason was finishing the lettering, someone informed him that William Beckwith was 97 years old. To which the mason replied: "O, then, I will put the one in front: it won't matter." This was before the day of School Boards.

On the wall of the north aisle there is a brass plate containing the following epitaph:—

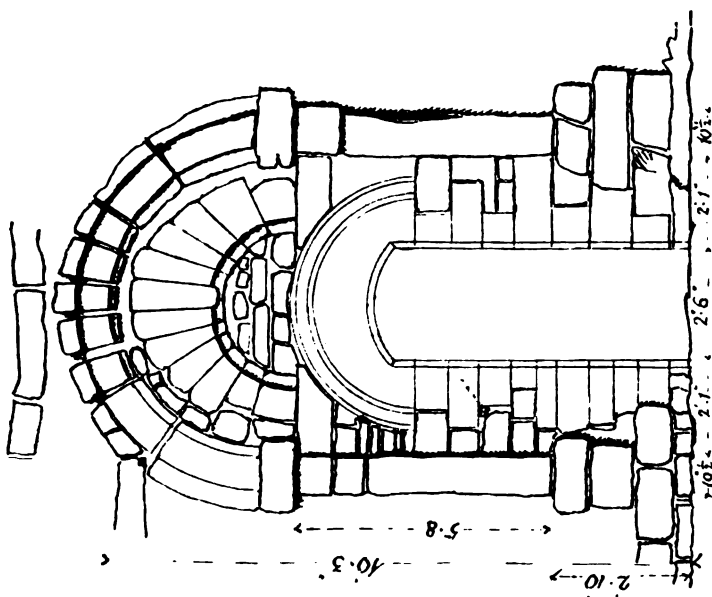
"Here lieth the Body of Mrs. Margaret Beckwith,
Who was translated to a better life the 5th day of
October, Anno Domini, 1676.
Hinc illæ lachrimæ."

This seems a curious quotation to follow the comforting assurance that Mrs. Margaret Beckwith had been "translated to a better life," but it is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times!

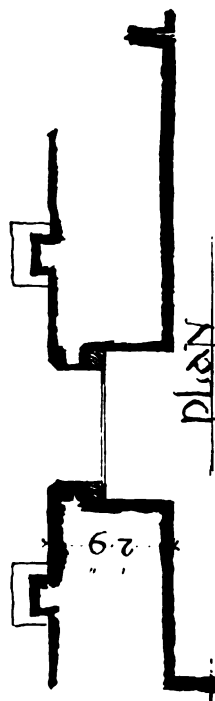




INTERNAL ELEVATION



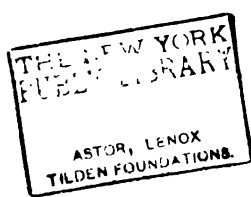
EXTERNAL ELEVATION



PLAN

LAUGHTON - EN-LE-NORTHEN VRS
NORTH DOORWAY

inches 16 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet





LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

By CHAS. LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read, in connection with the Sheffield Congress, March 16th, 1904.)



THE following observations refer only to the doorway in the western portion of the north wall and its surrounding walling. The examination of this early work took place on the occasion of the visit of the Association to Sheffield and its neighbourhood in 1903. Professor Baldwin Brown, in his *Arts in Early England*, writes: "In the enormous churchyard attached to the chapel of St. John at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, we are informed by the antiquary Dodsworth that a fair was held on Midsummer Day, to which people came from far and near." All who joined the party on the day of our visit will remember the remarkable size of this churchyard, and also the earthwork near it, which Professor Brown describes as "an Early Norman 'burh,' or moated mound." In his list of Saxon Churches, the Professor includes the work of this church, and designates it as "C" (north door of nave). This signifies that this doorway is accounted as a late example of Saxon work in the Professor's classification.

It is time we should look carefully at the work itself. Sketches of an external and internal elevation and plan, made on the spot, and geometrical drawings of the same, laid down to scale, will be seen on Plate I. Perhaps this early doorway is one of the most remarkable in the whole of England. The present actual doorway and door, with the jambs, segmental head, and hood-mould, are of modern date. Above this is the semi-

circular arch of an original doorway, rebated on its inner edge, with voussoirs increasing in length as they approach the centre line. The masonry of this arch is smoothly wrought, and its joints are closely fitted; but at the same time its stones are irregular in size, and their external line is irregular and unshaped.

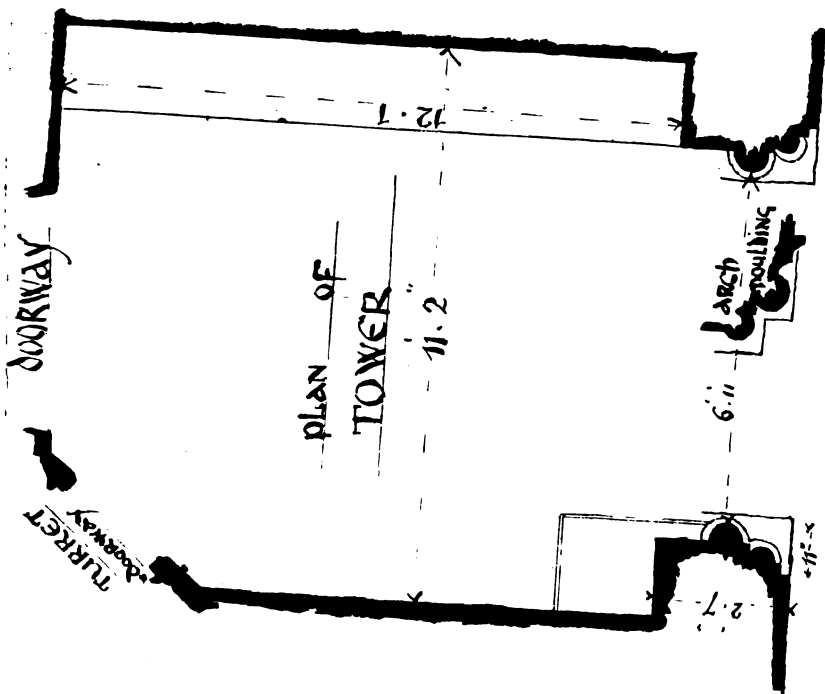
Looking at the inside elevation, it will be seen that the original jambs exist, but that a modern lintel has been thrown across the opening below the spring of the arch; that, again, a rebate follows the *intrados*, and that the arch-stones are of considerable size.

Again viewing the outside, what an extraordinary contrast is to be noticed in the rude architectural features which surround the actual doorway! Spaced at some distance from the jambs of the opening are projecting pilasters, starting from two courses of base stones in advance of the pilasters, and terminating beneath projecting imposts. The shaft on the west side consists only of two stones, the lower one very long and the other very short; on the east side of three stones, the lower long and the upper two very short. The arch springs from the imposts, and its stones are rebated on the inner edge, and on the face they project from the wall in continuation of the pilasters below them; whilst their outer surface is sunk back to line with the common face of the wall, the stones themselves being irregular in size.

This treatment of producing a projecting feature is not uncommon in Saxon work. It exists in the pilaster quoins at Wittering (Northants.) and in the arch of the south doorway at Heysham (Lancashire), and elsewhere.

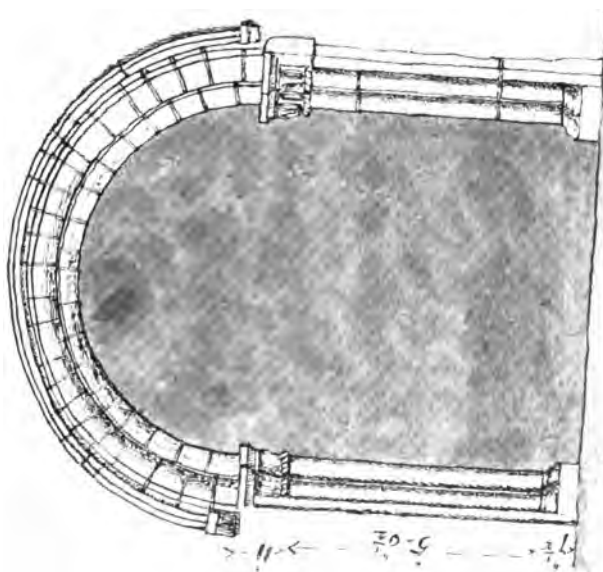
It should be said here that the two lower stones of the arch on the east side are modern, and there has been a certain amount of restoration generally.

From the plan and interior elevation it will be seen that there is a straight vertical joint in this wall, at some 7 ft. from the east side of the doorway: this line is the division between the earlier and later work of this part of the church. In rudeness of workmanship the external margin to the doorway could hardly be exceeded, and this may be said of the character of the walling also; yet, withal, there is a distinct architectural feeling which



N A V E

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 feet



elevation next nave

CARLTON-IN-LINDRICK NOTTS

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pervades the work, seen not only in its members but distinctly also in its proportions. Having regard to the refinements of the door-arch, and to the childlike struggle in the rude outer embellishment, one is inclined to ask whether the two are coeval in date, or whether the doorway itself is not of a later period. But it is well known that Saxon work has its close-jointed masonry, yet nowhere else (as known to myself) of such careful execution as here. May it not, then, be supposed that the outer frame, with its arch and pilasters, is of the earliest Saxon period and the inner of a later date? There is a touch of rough Roman feeling about the outer treatment, as though some clever workman, who could neither draw nor design, had struggled to put the thing together from recollection of some Roman work. The character of the work at Barnack, Heysham, and many other early examples amongst my sketches are in my mind, but not one of them seems to show such a desire for architectural attainment as this at Laughton-en-le Morthen.

The Congress did not go to the interesting church of Carlton-in-Lyndrick (Notts.), near to Sheffield, of which Professor Baldwin Brown says "C³ (enriched tower-arch)," the initial letter and number indicate Late Saxon. Of this tower-arch, a geometrical plan and elevation are annexed, for the purpose of illustrating the wide difference between the extreme rudeness of the Laughton example and what is really a scholastic design at Carlton (Plate II).

The difference is so great, and the Norman feeling of the Carlton archway is so apparent in its complete architectural essay, in its size and mouldings and members, carried up even to the enrichment of carving, that it is evident this example must lie on the border-line, if it does not betray itself as Norman work, executed by hands not the most skilful. In this church tower there are other marks of early features. On the south side near the ground, and again on its north side about the clock stage, fragmentary herringbone masonry is used, and in the quoin of the south-west angle of the nave, long and short work is present; but even these features may well mark the period of the border-line.

Heysham, Lancashire, of a later period than Laughton, but not less marked in its strong peculiarities of style, shows clear Saxon characteristics.

The subject of these lines barely admits of my doing so, but the temptation is too great for me to refrain from mentioning that within a week of the sad destructive electric shock which struck that church, I sketched at Swanscombe Church, Kent, the outside and inside of the south window of the tower, where "Roman" bricks are used to a great extent, with any sort of rubble that might be picked up in the field or by the roadside, not deserving the name of building material, and yet withal not unskilfully applied. Nearly all the early work in the county of Essex corresponds in character with that at Swanscombe. I sketched, also, the font at Swanscombe, the bowl of which bore sculptures of remarkable spirit, and was destroyed by the fall of the building.





ROCHE ABBEY, YORKSHIRE: ITS HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 14th, 1903.)



ROCHE ABBEY, the scant remains of whose former grandeur we saw around us this morning, was visited by this Association when it held its first Congress at Sheffield, in the year 1873, just thirty years ago. It was then described by the late Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and it forms also the subject of a sumptuous monograph by the late Dr. Aveling, who devoted many years of his life to the study of its history and architecture. About twenty years ago, the present Earl of Scarborough caused a large portion of the site of the ruins to be excavated, with the result that practically the whole of the walls of the church, and those of the buildings on the east and south sides of the cloister court, were laid bare. To the ecclesiologist, the origin of this house stands written plainly upon these few remaining walls. It could not have been anything but what it was—a Cistercian monastery. Let us, therefore, glance at the characteristics of the Cistercian Order and of the Cistercian style, before we briefly recapitulate what is known of the Abbey now under our notice, and examine its remains.

The Cistercians, like the Cluniacs, were an offshoot from the Benedictines, but their peculiarities and their place in English Art were due to their later emergence in point of time. The Benedictines were the great builders of the Norman period, and to them is due the development of the Norman-Romanesque style in England. The

great cathedral foundations of Ely, Peterborough, Norwich and Durham speak for themselves.

The Cluniacs, founded in 910 by Berno, at Cluni, in Burgundy, were only introduced into England in 1077, when the great monastery of Lewes was founded by William de Warrenne and his wife Gundrada, step-daughter of the Conqueror. Of this, no remains exist ; but the rich luxuriance of their later Romanesque, and their love of ornament for its own sake, may be seen in the beautiful west front of Castle Acre Priory, in Norfolk, founded in 1086 as a cell to Lewes, and in the Western Lady-Chapel at Glastonbury, more commonly called the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea, to mention only two examples out of many.

The Cistercians, the originator of whose Order was St. Robert, born 1020, and brought up at the Abbey of Moutier-la-Celle, near Troyes, were not introduced into England till 1128 (*vide infra*), when they built their first abbey at Waverley, in Surrey. The first buildings at Roche partook, of course, of the general style and character of the age ; but the Cistercians were imbued with new principles and new ideas, and they were on the watch for new influences to develop in which they might embody in stone these principles and ideas. In their origin they were, as Canon Jessopp has well expressed it, "the rigid precisians, the stern Puritans of the cloister."

In this circumstance we discover a most interesting example of the fact which stands writ large upon the pages of history, viz., that the Puritan spirit is inherent in human nature. It appeals to some souls as to an innate instinct, and is the natural antithesis to luxury in living and gorgeous and elaborate ceremonial in religion. It is the swing of the pendulum from one extreme to the other, and must ever be allowed for and borne in mind in studying the influence of spiritual forces.

Before the Reformation, the Church retained all such within her own borders, and found a place and a work for them as for their opposite ; not only, as in the twelfth century, for the stern Cistercians, but, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for the zealous and enthusiastic

Friars. How different has it been since then in England! After that great upheaval, all Puritans and enthusiasts have been forced alike to work outside the Church! The explanation of this may be that the National Church, having herself allowed the denial of the exorbitant claims of the Papacy to be pushed so far as to involve the breaking off of intercommunion, set an example of disruption which has been only too faithfully followed down to the present time; and hence the loss, first of the various Puritan bodies, then of the Wesleyans, and lastly of the Salvation Army, whose adherents correspond most closely to the Friars. Thus the severance of relations between England and Rome in the sixteenth century was the fruitful parent of what is best described as the present calamitous "dissidence of dissent."

Macaulay's famous passage recurs to mind in which he points out this distinction between the mediæval Church (and the Church of Rome down to the present time) and the post-Reformation Church of England. Speaking of the Reformation period, he says: "The Church of Rome thoroughly understands what no other Church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts . . . (The enthusiast) may be vulgar, ignorant, visionary, extravagant; but he will do and suffer things which it is for her interest that somebody should do and suffer, yet from which calm and sober-minded men would shrink. Accordingly, she enlists him in her service, . . . and sends him forth with her benediction and applause" (*v. Macaulay's Essays; Ranke's History of the Popes*, pp. 561 to 563). A glaring instance of the different principles actuating the Church of England to-day is to be found in the treatment of the late Father Dolling by the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

Just as the mediæval Church knew how to control and use the enthusiast, so she knew how to control and use the Puritan. To the early Cistercians, as to the later Puritans, pomp and display, even in the churches and in the services of the sanctuary, were perilous. All that was gorgeous, and made strong appeals to the sense of beauty in sight or sound—other than was absolutely necessary—all *that* was of sin.

"No stained glass was allowed in their windows : no picture, save only such as represented some likeness of our Lord, was to be seen upon their walls ; no sculptured form or redundant ornament was tolerated anywhere ; no jewelled cup or chalices were to be displayed upon their altars ; no high tower, proud and self-asserting with its clanging peal, might be raised—only a modest turret with its single bell, to mark the times of prayer."¹

Their reform was intended to abolish all luxury from the cloister, and it found one form of expression in the abolishing of all redundancy of ornament from their buildings.

Mr. E. S. Prior, in his interesting book, *A History of Gothic Art in England*, devotes much space to the development of the architectural characteristics of the Cistercian Order ; and it will not be out of place here to give a *resumé* of his able and convincing argument, before we consider more particularly the little that is left for our study at Roche, and the history of the Abbey.

The latest Romanesque effort, says Mr. Prior, had been at the service of elaboration. It was so in Ernulf's work at Rochester, on the Chapter-house front, and in the later west doorway of the cathedral ; so in the Cluniac façade of Castle Acre and the nave of secular Hereford, sculpture is applied to every surface in indiscriminate enrichment. To Cistercian austerity, however, this licence of architectural sumptuousness was abhorrent. As they rejected the bell-tower from their churches as the symbol of earthly sway, so they refused sculpture as savouring of earthly luxury. But here again art found its life from its conditions : its energy was turned inwards upon construction, and the power of sculpture, denied to surface, grew into the bones and sinews of Cistercian building. No longer relying on gorgeous robing for its distinction, architecture learned to stand in its own nude beauty, or dressed itself like a Grecian statue in the clinging vesture that expressed the sculpture of its form. Decoration came back to it as the accent of construction, the emphasis

¹ In contrast to the Benedictine monks, who wore a black habit, the Cistercians were required to wear a white one, and hence were distinguished as *white monks* from the very first.

of structural intention. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the purest and best Gothic architecture stands in the simplicity of shaft and moulded arch: decorative carving is confined to capitals, to a corbel here or a vault-boss there. At Roche, as at Fountains, and Kirkstall, and Furness, we cannot look for figure treatment. In the twelfth century, building was still a part of common life, and the joy of the builder in his work broke spontaneously from his chisel when he came to the capital that crowned the pillar he had raised. So in the widespread practice of stone building, carvings of flower and leaf came undesigned. Cistercian carvers were open-air workers, not cloister students. But this Cistercian building is a purely English departure, not derived—as has been sometimes supposed—from French Gothic. In breaking off from the Romanesque, English Gothic, as a matter of fact, pursued a totally different, though it may be a parallel, line to French. The Cistercian reformation expressed protest against Benedictine style, as it did against Benedictine luxury. It readily adopted the pointed arch-forms, but its methods in England are of English sample, and very different, for example, from Clairvaux and Pontigny; and it would be just as mistaken to call the style of the Burgundian abbeys English, as it is to call Fountains or Roche French. When Benedictine supremacy was invaded, then, under opposition influence, the Romanesque features were discarded, and “English Gothic” established itself. Thus it was a neo-monastic architecture that in the last part of the twelfth century grew conspicuously Gothic among the Cistercian builders of York, as here at Roche, and of the Welsh Marches, as well as in the canons’ houses, Augustinian and secular, elsewhere. “Art,” says Viollet-le-Duc, had its ‘89’ in 1170.” First in the series of revolutions by which modern society has been emancipated came that which freed art from Romanesque tradition. English art was perhaps somewhat less *vigorous* than French. Yet our church building was energetic enough in the one hundred years from 1140 to 1240. For the Cistercian Order alone there were founded in England during the last three-quarters of the twelfth century over one hundred

houses, and for each a considerable church was rapidly built, abreast of anything in Europe in the freedom of its Gothic creativeness. But these being only abbey churches, the Dissolution, as in this instance, worked their almost complete destruction, and the largest of them had small areas when compared with Laon or Chartres. This energy, and the separateness of the twelfth-century English development of architecture, can be plainly demonstrated in the English usage of the monastic plan, just as it is no less evident in every detail of our first Gothic. It is seen in the abandonment of the apsidal terminations to the choir, and the substitution of the square ending there, and in the eastern chapels of the transepts, no less than in the lancet windows, and the mouldings of shaft and capital. But the history of our early art has the misfortune that some three-quarters of the buildings in which were written the earliest proofs of its genius have entirely perished. Nevertheless, the ruins of the twelfth-century houses of the reformed Orders are found in every county of England; and generally they speak of a considerable building of the twelfth century, with marks of style that indicate the first achievements of Gothic experiment. Here, then, were the schools in which our English masons learnt their craft, with no need of faring abroad for the *atelier* in which to be instructed in the mystery of Gothic.

At Roche may be seen several examples of Cistercian corbels and capitals, which, while they mark the fresh departure, indicate at the same time, as at Rievaulx, Dore, Byland, etc., the presence of ideas which cannot be decisively declared to be the outcome of solely constructive efforts. Taking it as a whole, English Gothic expressed an intention of its own in every material that was presented to it. This afflatus would seem to have specially lighted on that Cistercian art which grew up in the Yorkshire abbeys. And though this art undoubtedly has peculiarities of its own, when compared with the Cistercian art of other parts of the country, yet there were reasons which in Cistercian building tended to suppress the creation of local types.

For conclaves of the Order, meeting year by year, brought the abbots of all the houses together; and, as in the statutes, so in the plan of Cistercian buildings is found a uniformity which marks them all over Europe. The English method of land tenure would also tend in the direction of a wide dissemination of general building methods. The custom of the Norman conqueror was to split up large estates, instead of allowing them to be concentrated, and landowners and convents, as such, held manors all over England where buildings were erected by them. This, and the custom of putting smaller religious houses as "cells" under the dominion of the larger, brought about a constant mingling of church-building ideas, to the effacement of local usage.

Yet, despite these influences tending to amalgamation, Gothic art developed itself as provincial in three or four distinct areas; and Roche, with Fountains, Rievaulx, and Kirkstall, belongs to what may be called a distinct Yorkshire school of Cistercian art. Working communities as the Cistercians were, whose first labour was their church building, each convent seems to have gone to school with the local mason.

The Church was with the Cistercians, as with all the monastic orders, the great central feature of the monastic establishment, unifying the whole composition, and bringing it into harmony with its surroundings; this is readily seen at Fountains, where the hand of the twin destroyers, time and man, have been more sparing than at Roche. Here, previous to the recent excavations, little remained above ground except the eastern walls of the transepts, with their chapels and a portion of the choir; now that the soil deposited by "Capability" Brown to a depth of 6 ft. has been cleared away, it is easy to imagine the appearance of this noble building in its complete state. In the entirety of its thirteenth-century completion, the whole body of such a religious house, with its definite enclosures and outlying dependencies, which gradually led up to the central massing, gave a spectacle of artistic creation such as has been hardly equalled in any other school of architecture. This unity and completeness of idea must have been especially striking in

the houses of the reformed societies, set down for the most part in the midst of a desolate wilderness, in which their domain was the one oasis of cultivation, their walls the one centre of hospitality. Mangled, as in Roche to-day, it still to some extent conveys the impression of secluded stateliness : a haven after long travel across wood, moor, and marshland. The central motive of the composition would be the long, level-roofed nave, that on one side lifted its walls sheer from the grass, its unrelieved outline but little broken by projecting transept, or the squat lantern of the crossing ; while on the other were the two-storied buildings set round the cloister, prolonging the return of western façade and transept ; so that the whole had the appearance of full squareness, to which in their detachment, infirmary and abbot's lodging only gave another note. Beyond, indeed, lay satellites with steep-pitched gables, hostels and barns, and the square blocks of gateways (of which the main gateway, of good fourteenth-century¹ workmanship, remains here), but all, as it were, graduated echoes of the main group, giving it scale, but subordinate and in no competition with the effect of the central masonry.

We are now in a position to consider the history and architectural remains of the example of Gothic art with which this Paper deals.

It was in the year 1147 that a certain Durandus, with a company of twelve monks, set out from Newminster—which itself was an offshoot from Fountains, and had been founded, along with Kirkstead and South Park Abbeys, in 1139 (the parent house dating from 1132), to establish another house in the wilderness of moor and wood which then covered South Yorkshire. Like all the Cistercians, he was seeking a spot of unappropriated land in a lonely situation, where he and his fellows might lead a holy life ; and we can imagine the joy with which at length they entered a nameless valley, whose tangled slopes were sheltered from the north by a range of lofty, gray, and venerable-looking rocks, and down whose midst ran a pleasant stream.

¹ " Fine thirteenth-century."—Mr. Hill. " Early part of the fourteenth century."—Dr. Aveling.

Legend tells a beautiful story of the motive which induced Durandus to select the site for his new abbey, and, as it illustrates the spirit of the age, we may be permitted to quote it here: "When Durandus, entering the wild and solitary valley, became convinced that the long-sought resting-place had been found, and stood elated with the beauty and fitness of the spot, one of the monks approached with tidings of a spring, surpassing infinitely any he had met with before; and another, with awed and eager step, related that, wandering near, he had found hewn out upon a rock, by God's own hand, an image of our Saviour on a Cross. This, doubtless, decided the wanderers, as they bowed in reverent devotion before that mystic rock!"

This peaceful and retired valley is situated in the parish of Maltby, and the stream flowing through it divided at that time the possessions of Richard de Busli and Richard Fitz-Turgis, lords of Maltby and Hooton. These two landowners joined forces to welcome and endow the strangers settled in their midst, and united to give the lands on both sides of the stream to the new community, leaving them free to place their buildings on whichever side suited them best. The foundation charters of these two generous co-founders are given in Dugdale, and a translation is given by Dr. Aveling. The original buildings were rude and poor; from the first the house, like all Cistercian foundations, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and from the situation it was known as *Sancta Maria de Rupe*, Roche Abbey. Durandus was the first abbot—for all Cistercian houses were abbeys, in accordance, as Mr. Hills points out, with the democratic law of the Order. Experience of the Cluniac Benedictine reforms had shown the evil, as the Cistercians thought, of creating a princely prelate by subjecting numerous priories to one abbot.

Roche, though founded in 1147—only nineteen years after Waverley, the first abbey of the Cistercian Order in England—was already the thirty-seventh abbey of the Order; and between this year and 1250, when the last house was founded, more than one hundred Cistercian abbeys, as stated above, were planted on English soil. At

the Dissolution, seventy-five Cistercian abbeys were despoiled of their possessions by the King. Some had already perished during the intervening years.¹

As already mentioned, the first buildings at Roche were rude and poor, but in process of time the wealth of the house increased by continually-accruing gifts of lands and possessions, and, as was the case with every Order, increasing wealth meant better buildings : though, as has been pointed out, and as may be seen by an examination of the remains here, these buildings were carried out in entire accordance with the root principles of the Cistercian Order, and with the new and growing ideas of true Gothic art then springing into existence.

Dr. Aveling gives a list of twenty-seven abbots, after Durandus down to 1538, when Henry Cundal, the last of them, surrendered the house to Henry VIII. Of these, the worthiest and most distinguished was OSMUND, who presided from 1184 to 1223, a period of thirty-nine years.

Osmund came from Fountains Abbey, where he had been "Cellarer," and was a man of an ambitious and active mind. Under his rule all things prospered, and Roche soon became a rich and powerful abbey.

His first act was to obtain from Pope Urban III a confirmation of all the possessions of the house, which by

¹ In the *Journal* of this Association, vol. xxvi, Dr. W. de Gray Birch has published a list of all the Cistercian abbeys on the Continent and in the British Isles, founded between the years 1098 (the year in which the foundation of Cîteaux is placed) and 1234, from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum (MS. Cotton., Faustina B. vii, fol. 36). The total amounts to 368 down to 1190, a period of less than 100 years.

To this he subjoins a list drawn up by himself of all the Cistercian houses in England. According to this list, Furness has the honour of being the first abbey of the Order in England, having been founded in 1124, four years before Waverley, and Roche is the thirty-eighth in the list.

A very interesting pedigree of the abbeys is subjoined (from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Digby, xi, fol. 17).

It appears also that four or five houses were founded in the second half of the thirteenth century, while one was founded in the fourteenth (St. Mary Grace, Eastminster, or New Abbey, near London, 1349), and one in the fifteenth (St. Bernard's College, Oxford, 1437) ; and then the stream, which had long been failing, finally dried up. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxvi, pp. 281-299.

that time had become many and extensive, derived from a large number of previous benefactors. He also obtained a charter from Richard I, and another from the Countess of Eu, a descendant of the house of De Busli, to whom the possessions of the family, including the manor of Maltby, had been restored by Henry III.

When he had been eight years Abbot, Osmund was appointed Proctor for Cardinal Stephen (the Papal Legate), "*de omnibus proventibus suis in Angliâ*," "in such sort," says an old deed, quoted by Dr. Aveling, "that he and his three immediate successors received of the goods of the said Cardinal, at different times of the year by annual payments, to the amount of 400 marks, out of which money they provided handsomely for themselves" ("*de quâ pecuniâ sibi competenter providerunt*"), so that their monastery was fully provided for. This being the case, Osmund was able to devote his attention to the completion of the buildings of his monastery. The architectural character of the remaining portions clearly points to the latter part of the twelfth century, and the opening years of the thirteenth, as the date of their erection.

The church, amid whose ruins we stood this morning, is a cruciform building of the exact Cistercian plan, having a nave of eight bays with aisles, transepts without aisles, but with eastern chapels, two on each side of the presbyterium. The latter is short, and has a square east end. The total length of the church internally is about 210 ft., and the width across the transepts, 99 ft. At the west end of the church are three doorways, giving access to the nave and aisles. There are no traces of division walls separating the latter from the nave, but the fine western bays are divided from the rest of the church by a low wall or screen, which appears to have extended across from side to side of the building. The excavation on the south side is not complete at this point, but in the north aisle traces of this wall are to be seen, with indications of a doorway. It has been supposed that the *conversi*, instead of occupying seats in the nave, as was the usual custom, were placed in the north transept. The foundation of the staircase leading from their dormitory is to be

seen in the south aisle of the church, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this doorway was for their use. In the centre of the nave portion of this screen wall is a doorway, the jambs of which are of early thirteenth-century date. On the western side of the screen, the foundation of an altar is to be seen on either side of the doorway. Near these an interesting discovery was made during the course of excavations, this being no less than a relic stone, containing the relics intact, and no doubt forming a part of one of these altars. Dr. Fairbank, in a Paper dealing with the results of the excavations, describes it as follows :—" It is a cube nearly nine inches square. On one side of it, which was covered with colour wash, it was noticed that a quadrangular portion had been removed and replaced. On removing this inserted portion, a small capsule of lead, formed of a piece of sheet lead rolled up and pinched at the ends, was found. It is two and a-half inches long, and about one inch across at its broadest part. Inside this capsule were found two small fragments of bone, and two portions of a link of chain armour." It has been suggested by Mr. St. John Hope that the relics are those of St. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, a favourite north-country saint, who began life as a knight, and afterwards turned hermit. In the north transept at Jervaulx, an altar remains, with a stone missing in the centre of the front, just under the top slab. Probably the missing stone contained a relic in like manner to the one found at Roche.

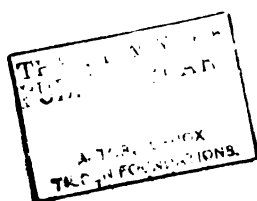
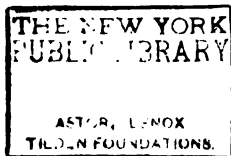
The nave west of the screen retains its original paving of square blocks of stone, unequal in size, and now broken and depressed in places, as a result of falling masses of masonry. In this portion of the church are several monumental slabs ; one between two piers on the south side is quite plain, except for the sacred monogram, "I H C," in the centre. Two others, placed in front of the north altar in the nave, are in memory of members of the Rilston family, as may be seen from the Latin inscriptions which run round their margins. They date from the fifteenth century. In front of the entrance to the choir is another slab, having a large foliated cross on



ROCHE ABBEY : TRANSEPT FROM NAVE.



ROCHE ABBEY : NAVE LOOKING WEST.



a calvary of three steps in its centre. Round the verge is an inscription in English, which has been deciphered as follows : " Here lygges (lies) Peryn of Doncaster and Ysbel (Isabel) his wyfe a gude trwe (true) brother whilom he was on lyfe. Jhu (Jesu) for they mercy bring yam (them) to bliss, Paternr(noster) for ym (them) whoso redis (reads) this."¹

The church east of the screen appears to have been paved with tiles. A few fragments of these have been discovered, quite plain, and with a yellow glaze. To the east of the south-west pier of the central tower is a floor piscina or drain, formed in the centre of a dished stone, which is about three feet square (shown on photograph of nave looking west). Traces of the foundation walls of the choir-stalls have been discovered, one bay east from the screen across the nave ; but with these exceptions, this part of the church is grass-grown, and contains no further features of interest so far as its floor is concerned.

The eastern walls of the transepts, with the chapels, and the north and south walls of the presbyterium, remain in nearly a complete state. These enable us to form an idea of the original character of the building. The arches opening into the chapels from the transepts are pointed, with three orders of mouldings, each consisting of a bold pointed boutel. On the side next the transepts there is also a plain label mould. The piers in plan have round and pointed members, the latter on the four outer edges, those next the transepts being carried up as vaulting shafts. The triforium is literally a "blindstorey," the two pointed arches in each bay being merely recesses, with chamfers on their outer edges. In the presbyterium, the triforium is of a richer character. Instead of a plain chamfer, the edges of the recesses have small shafts, with caps and bases, and the arches have boutel mouldings. Separating the triforium from the tower and clerestories are plain string-courses, which appear to have

¹ Dr. Fairbank says that among the wills in the York Registry are two of interest in connection with this stone : those of William Peryn, senior, of Melton, and of his son John Peryn, both dated March 8th, 1404. Of John's will, there is only the Probate Act, which, however, speaks of Isabel his relict. Melton is near Doncaster.

been carried round the whole of the church, the upper one forming the *abaci* of the caps of the tower piers and vaulting shafts. The clerestory windows are round-headed, deeply splayed inside and out, and have plain label moulds on the outside. The church appears to have



South Transept Chapel.

been vaulted throughout, but only the springers of the ribs remain at the clerestory level. The chapels opening from the transepts were formerly divided from each other by walls extending two-thirds the height of the piers. Each had originally a round-headed window at its eastern end, and the two outer ones had also a window on their north and south sides respectively. That in the

southernmost chapel still remains. In the fourteenth century, the eastern windows of these chapels were replaced by others of a larger size. Portions of the tracery of these later windows remain. In the south walls of two of the chapels are round-headed piscinas. The end of the north transept had three rows of windows, three in each row. The jambs and parts of the arches of the easternmost ones are still to be seen. There was also a doorway in the end wall of this transept. The end of the south transept would be modified, in consequence of the sacristy and dormitory, which abutted against it. There would be doorways leading to these apartments: that to the former is still *in situ*; and probably there would be a gallery, as at Kirkstall, from which the infirm monks could take part in the night services without the labour of climbing up and down the stairs.

The eastern wall of the presbyterium is almost entirely destroyed. From the great number of worked stones found at this point, it appears that a large window was inserted in the fifteenth century; probably before that date the windows were similar to those in the end of the north transept. A few feet from the east wall are the foundations of the high altar. On the north side are two recesses, above and around which are traces of pinnacles, and other carved stonework of a late date. Probably one was the Easter sepulchre, and the other and larger one a tomb. On the south side are similar traces of ornamental stonework: evidently the sedilia of three seats. To the east of this is a square-headed recess, divided by an upright stone into two parts, one of which contains a piscina.

The monastic buildings lay, as usual, to the south of the church. Those surrounding the cloister court have been laid bare to an extent which enables us to define their uses. To the south of the transept, and entered from it by a doorway and a descent of three or four steps, is a small apartment which was probably the sacristy. This apartment has also a doorway at its east end, leading to what—from the number of stone coffins found—appears to have been the cemetery of the monks. A further door on the south side leads to the chapter-house:

a rather unusual arrangement, but in this case there is no doorway from the cloister to the sacristy. The chapter house is about 59 ft. by 32 ft., placed with its long axis east and west. It has two pillars, dividing it into two aisles. Nothing remains of the walls of this apartment above the level of the base-court, the mouldings of which are of early thirteenth-century date. To the south of the chapter-house is the locutorium, or parlour, having



Ruins of Chapter-house.

doorways at its east and west ends. Next to this, and completing the range of buildings on the east side of the court, is the day room. This is entered from the cloister by a doorway, with another one opposite to it on the east side of the room. Further south on this side are traces of another doorway, but the presence of a large tree has prevented the complete excavation of this part of the building. Next to this, and on the south side of the court is the calefactory, or warming-house, the two large fireplaces on the west side of which are plainly to be

distinguished. Adjoining this on the west is the refectory, and beyond again to the west is the kitchen. The outer walls of these apartments can be traced, but they have not been entirely cleared of earth. The west side of the court was no doubt occupied by store-rooms and the apartments of the *conversi*, but here again trees have prevented the excavation of any part except the south wall, in the lower part of which there is an arch, perhaps that over the drain from the Rere-clorter of the *conversi*.

Portions of masonry exist to the south of the buildings already described, but the diversion of the stream and other alterations made by "Capability Brown" render their exact shape and use a matter of conjecture. To the north-west of the church is the fine thirteenth-century gatehouse, of which mention has been previously made. Attached to the south side of the gateway is still a fragment of the chapel used for the first devotions or strangers arriving.

These are the sole surviving remains of the once magnificent heritage of Roche Abbey, which now forms part of the domain of the Earl of Scarborough. For nearly four hundred years the inmates pursued in peace "the noiseless tenour of their way," "along the cool sequestered vale of life," in this equally sequestered spot, where they had made a garden out of a wilderness: when, at length, in 1538, the crash came which overwhelmed them, together with the rest of the religious houses. They had no history, and are therefore, it may be, to be accounted the more happy. No doubt, as time went on and possessions increased, the primitive simplicity was somewhat relaxed, and their lives were marked by greater comfort, not to say luxury.

The charters confirming the grants of these possessions often contain references which enable us to fix the dates of certain events with accuracy. For instance, with reference to the dedication of the church, I have already said that the architectural character of the buildings shows that the date of their erection was the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Now the charter of Idonea de Veteri Ponte, or de Vipont, who was to be buried in the monastery, gives to the

monks the manor of Sandbec *in dotem ad dedicationem ecclesiæ suæ de rupe*. This lady was at the time a widow, her husband, Robert de Veteri Ponte, having died in 1228; after which, and before her death in 1241, the church must have been consecrated.

In 1878 Mr. S. O. Addy published a little volume containing sixteen Charters of Roche Abbey, the first fourteen of which were taken from a bundle of MSS. in the possession of a Mr. Hoyle of Rotherham, and then first printed. The muniments of Roche Abbey found their way, at the Dissolution, to the Tower of St. Mary's, York, a building which was destroyed, with its precious contents, during the Civil Wars in the seventeenth century. Fortunately, Mr. Hoyle's transcripts from the originals were made some time previously.

The last two Charters have also been published by Dr. Aveling.

From these Charters we derive some interesting information as to the lives and occupations of the Religious at Roche, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which the following brief notice must suffice. For fuller details I would refer the reader to Mr. Addy's booklet.

Charter VIII shows that the distant Abbey of Netley—or Letteleg, as the Charter names it—had some extensive possessions in Laughton-en-la-Morthen, which the monks of Roche, in 1319, purchased for the large sum of 380 marks: this goes to prove the prosperity of the House before the calamity of the Black Death, mentioned below, overtook the land.

Charter XIII, dated 1361, threatens excommunication against such of the monks as play at dice or other unlawful games (including probably even chess, against which Archbishop Peckham thundered during his visitation of certain religious houses in 1270), frequenting taverns, gardens, vineyards, and other forbidden places, leaving off their proper habit, etc.; this affords evidence of the demoralizing effects produced on the inmates by that same Black Death: for evidently their *morale* had been shaken, or a lower class of men had joined the Order.

Charter XIV, however, gives us a more pleasing picture of their lives at a later time, for in it Alan, parson of

Maltby, about 1440, grants tithes to the monks, issuing out of lands in the Parish of Maltby, which they cultivate with their own hands (*quas colunt propriis manibus*). As a rule, the *conversi* performed the manual labour, but here the monks themselves seem to have taken their share; and, as Mr. Addy remarks, here, as elsewhere, they have "left the impress of their refinement on the places where they dwelt."

When Adam de Giggleswick was Abbot—1330-1349—the house passed through a period of depression, for, as a complaint made at that time to the Pope expresses it, "the alms and devotion of all men were diminished;" but in 1346 this was dispelled by a munificent donation from John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, of the church of Hatfield, with seventy marks per annum, the charter conferring it being preserved among the *Dodsworth MSS.* in the Bodleian Library, intituled as follows: "Carta Joannis de Warren, comitis Surr. admirantis magnificentiam operis lapidei hujus abbatiæ, necnon paucitatem monachorum, quapropter dedit abbatiæ eccl. de Haytfield Ebor. dioc. post cujus appropriationem XIII viri honesti et idonei *competentis literaturæ* capientur in religionem ultra numerum assign. a fundatore."

Adam died in 1349, probably of the Black Death, which, according to Stowe, "decimated the realm" in that year.

Matilda of York, Countess of Cambridge, who died in 1440, directed in her will that her "body be buried in the Monastery of Roche, in the chapel of the Blessed Mary, before her image, situated in the *southern* part of the church of the said monastery." This probably referred to one of the chapels opening from the south transept.

At the Dissolution Roche Abbey was worth, according to Dugdale, £224 2s. 5d., and according to Speed, £271 19s. 4d. per annum, but according to the Visitors it was only worth £170, and hence came under the Act which gave to Henry all the lesser monasteries of under £200 per annum.

Of its destruction an interesting account survives in a letter written by one Cuthbert Shirebrook, who was

born near Roche Abbey, and educated at the free school of Rotherham. He became in after-life a "dignified ecclesiastic." The letter was written about 1591, and describes what the writer's uncle, who was present at the suppression, was witness of. This letter is given by Dr. Aveling, and quoted by Father Gasquet in his *Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries*; it is also mentioned in passing by Mr. Hills. I refer to it because it gives a unique account of the proceedings at this monastery, derived from contemporary sources: proceedings which are typical of what was going on all over England at that terrible time; and, further, because it throws considerable light on the internal arrangements of a Cistercian house.

Thus was Roche Abbey despoiled of its possessions, its buildings destroyed, its beautiful church desecrated and ruined, and its inmates turned out into the world. The Deed of Surrender is signed by Henry (Cundal), Abbot, Thomas Twell, Sub-prior, and sixteen monks; and, having given up their house with a good grace, they were all dealt well by. The Abbot's pension amounted to £33 6s. 8d., the Sub-prior's to £6 13s. 4d., and the monks' priests to £5, while the novices had £3 6s. 8d. each. In 1558, twelve of the eighteen who signed the surrender still enjoyed their pensions.

Down to 1776 the ruins remained in much the same condition as when Cuthbert Shirebrook wrote; but in that year Lancelot Brown, better known as "Capability" Brown, described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as "the reviver of the natural style of landscape gardening," and best remembered as having laid out the gardens at Kew and Blenheim, was let loose upon Roche, and it is the havoc which his hands wrought that makes it so difficult to discover the plan of the buildings. Among other things, he carried the stream right over some portions of them! Dr. Aveling quotes the description of his proceedings from the account of a Mr. Gilpin,¹ who lived at the time; and remarks that, as Mr. Gilpin

¹ William Gilpin (1724-1804), Author, Schoolmaster, Vicar of Boldre, Artist. Descendant of Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583), and brother of Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807).—*v. D. N. B.*

predicted, time has done a great deal towards rendering Mr. Brown's work more in keeping with the ruin. All true lovers of architecture will, nevertheless, as he says, always deplore the pulling down of detached fragments, and the heartless covering up of the ground-plan, which we know from the recent excavations still exists in great perfection.

The ruins which are yet standing are, however, sufficient, as I trust I have shown, to enable us to discover something of the beauty of Cistercian workmanship, and to enter a little into the spirit of the builders; sufficient, too, to make us realise the grievous loss which the destruction of Roche Abbey, like its compeers, has inflicted upon posterity, not only from a religious but also from an artistic point of view.

It is an interesting point to note, in conclusion, that the material for the beautiful groined roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, was brought from the Roche Abbey quarries—so it is stated in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*—and this goes to prove the prescience of Durandus, when he fixed the site in a neighbourhood where such fine building stone was so easily procurable. It was with an eye to the possibilities of the future, as well as to its adaptation for his immediate purposes.

To quote Dr. Aveling once more: "Whatever may be the truth of the legend which attributes to Durandus a superstitious motive in choosing the site for his abbey, we have abundant proof that there were not wanting many substantial reasons to confirm him in his selection. Among these may be mentioned, not only the beauty of the situation—for beautiful it must ever have been, from its natural combination of rock, wood, water and pasture, even before it had received the attentions of Mr. "Capability" Brown—but also its complete seclusion from the outer world. This rendered it peculiarly suited to the requirements of the stern and rigid rule of the Order, one of whose special principles it was, in the selection of sites for their houses, that 'they should never be constructed except in places separated from all converse and neighbourhood of men.' In both these respects, and also in the abundance of water, it bears a striking

resemblance to Fountains. A further inducement to the monks to settle here must have been the unlimited supply of a splendid building stone : beautiful in colour, easily worked, and yet very durable, as is proved by the admirable state of preservation in which the remains of the Abbey Church continue to this day, notwithstanding their exposure to the weather for so many centuries."

The reputation, indeed, of the Roche Abbey quarry has long been widely spread ; and so highly is it still esteemed that when the new Houses of Parliament were about to be built, and search was made throughout the country for the best materials, the stone from this quarry was one of those ordered to be examined and reported upon.¹

¹ My warm thanks are due, and are hereby accorded, to Mr. J. R. Wigfull, A.R.I.B.A., for assistance kindly rendered in the preparation and correction of this Paper.





ROTHERHAM CHURCH.

By E. ISLE HUBBARD, Esq., M.S.A.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 14th, 1903.)



THE documentary evidence of the parish church of All Saints, Rotherham, is scanty. As Rotherham was a manor before Domesday, it is probable there was a Saxon church at that time. That there was a Norman church in after-times we know from the Norman remains, which I shall presently show you, and from the old foundations discovered during the restoration of the church in 1873.

The parish church of Rotherham, dedicated to All Saints, occupies pretty nearly the same site as a former church, which existed in Norman times, for at the restoration of the church in 1873, under Sir Gilbert Scott, the foundations of the former church were discovered inside the walls. Inside the north aisle, this foundation was about nine feet from the present wall, in the south about three feet, and at the west end the wall was considerably within the present church. Further parts of the old church were found by the discovery of some Norman capitals, half an *abacus*, and part of a base, walled in under the piers of the present nave. These remains are of white magnesian limestone, similar to the Roche Abbey stone, and on examination of the aisle walls we find a great amount of this limestone is built into them. I am able to show you a plan which I possess of these old foundations, made at the time of the restoration under Sir Gilbert Scott.

The earliest parts of the present church are the arcades in the chancel, which inclines slightly to the south. The

piers are octagonal in form, their capitals moulded and embattled. They carry simple arches of two orders, chamfered, their bases having a large hollow, surmounted by a roll. The character of this work is of an earlier period than that of the nave. Sedilia for sub-deacon, deacon, and priest are placed on the side of the chancel, and near them is the piscina. On the north side was a locker, or aumbry. The tower also is earlier than the nave, and shows the water-tabling marking the pitch of the roof of an earlier nave: proving that no clerestory existed at that time, and that the windows in the tower looked over the chancel roof, as well as over those of the transepts of that day; thus the tower was a central lantern. The present clerestory is sixteenth-century work, its tracery lights being formed of elliptic curves, very flat, and devoid of cusping. There are four three-light windows on each side, and the piers between them are so light as to resemble a thick mullion more than a pier. Small shafts, octagonal in plan, supported on embattled corbels, carry the curved feet of the roof principals. The chancel was lengthened at the time of the clerestory being added, and the late Perpendicular window, removed in 1873 and replaced by the present one, would no doubt be added at the same time. The stall work of the chancel is very fine, and well repays the examination of the careful student.

The south chancel aisle, or Jesus or Lady Chapel, as it is variously called, is very interesting, the ceiling being divided by a richly-ornamented principal beam into two bays, each of which is again subdivided into twenty-four panels, with carved bosses, varying in design at each intersection. Upon the principals we have the monogram of the Virgin, and on one of the bosses the five wounds of our Lord, and various symbolic devices are placed on the others. An altar-tomb of late fifteenth-century design occupies the east end, and a "squint" is cut through the sedilia, to enable anyone in this chapel to see the high altar. The benches in this chapel are very interesting.

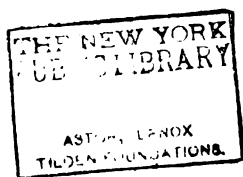
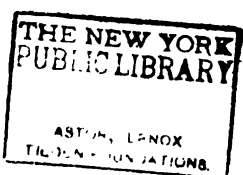
The north chancel-aisle is much simpler in its ceiling, the rafters being exposed and unmoulded, with plain



ROTHERHAM CHURCH : NAVE LOOKING EAST.



ROTHERHAM CHURCH : NAVE LOOKING WEST.



moulded principals. Here also is an altar-tomb, with a rich cornice, ornamented with the Tudor flower-cresting.

A memorial brass is inserted in this tomb. Upon it are engraved the effigies of Robert Swyft, Anne his wife, and his four children—Robert, William, Ann, and Margaret. The father is represented in a furred gown, his hair cut in a conventional manner, his hands joined in prayer; the mother has a square head-dress, her hands uplifted, but not joined.

From the mouth of Swyft issues the following words:—

“ Christ is ouer life
And deathe is o’r advantage.”

This north chapel has been ascribed to St. Anne, but apparently without any definite authority.

The lower part of the tower is earlier than the nave, but its arches and their piers have evidently being cut and altered into their present shape, mouldings of a later date being inserted. The remainder of the fabric is generally ascribed to Archbishop Rotherham, who died in 1500; and it is believed that, if not the sole founder, he was the principal contributor to it; and that without his assistance it would have been a difficult task, even for a parish as extensive as this was, and aided by the funds of a wealthy monastic establishment, to have borne the expense of such a fabric.

The vestments and utensils for the altar were of the most gorgeous description and beautiful workmanship. Of these Hunter gives a complete list, but I can only note the following:—A vestment having on the back the image of St. Catherine (to whom a chantry was founded) and a Pax bread, with the bone of St. Firmin.

There is a bequest by one of the family of Clarel, of Aldwark, of a cloth of Arras of the Passion of our Lord, to hang upon the rood-loft, and a stained cloth of the battle between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy.

The vaulting under the tower is of the kind known as fan-vaulting—a very unusual sort in this part of the country, and which first came into existence in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There is a peculiarity

of form in this Rotherham, example from the omission of the circular horizontal enclosing rib at the junction of the fan part of the vault with the crown of the vault, the vertical ribs being continued to the central straight ridge. A similar arrangement exists, I believe, at Sherborne Priory.

The nave and transepts are of the same period, the nave having four bays or divisions.

The piers of the arcade are of that diamond shape so often used towards the close of the fifteenth century: much wider from north to south than from east to west, and has continuous mouldings with the arches. The capitals are carved in low relief, with embattled cresting, and are good examples of their kind. The external roll of the pier is carried up perpendicularly to the roof-beams.

Thus we have the clerestory divided into compartments by these rolls, and in each of these compartments a window of three lights.

The ceiling is of oak, panelled and moulded, with richly-carved bosses.

The aisles are lighted by three-light windows, those on the north being different from those on the south, having richer traceried transomes, and the primary lines of the tracery being more symmetrical. The whole of the windows and doors are richly moulded, and there is a moulded string-course below the windows in each aisle.

The west window is a fine example of seven lights; and the western doorway, which has been restored, with its small decorative buttresses, crocketed canopy, and panelled spandrels, forms a beautiful feature in this front. For years it was blocked up, but it now affords access to the church by a flight of inside steps.

The beautiful old screens in the chancel-aisles are of exquisite design and workmanship. Their well-moulded mullions, beautifully-carved crockets and finials, and the groined cornices by which they are surmounted, are of the finest examples of their period. Somewhat similar screens are found at Chesterfield and Ecclesfield, but not equal in beauty to these. I think that originally they

were fixed across the transepts, thus enclosing them as chantry chapels.

The remains of the corbels on the western tower arch are clearly for support of the rood-beam.

Many years ago—about sixty, I think—during some repairs, a mural painting was discovered over the western arch of the tower. A copy of it, in my possession, was made at the time by a local artist, and I have brought it to show you what the painting was like.

Figures of various saints, whom we cannot with certainty identify, from the absence of emblems. They, no doubt, represent the blessed company of saints to whom the church is dedicated. Nude figures represent souls entering the Heavenly Jerusalem, with flags flying as the symbol of victory. Candlesticks at each side, signifying the joy of Jews and Gentiles at the Nativity of Christ, or as symbolic of His double nature as God and Man.

Three cherubin, symbolic of the Trinity, are placed over our Lord, and myriads of angels appear round the arch.





SHEFFIELD CUTLERY AND THE POLL-TAX OF 1379.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., PRESIDENT.

(Read April 20th, 1904.)



ALTHOUGH the Sheffield assessment of the Poll Tax, 2 Richard II, was published in vol. xxx of the *Journal* of this Association, page 248, which recorded the Sheffield Congress of 1873, and was also printed with the returns for the whole West Riding by the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association in 1882, there are some points in it which have not received the attention they deserve. Its negative bearing on the question of the antiquity of the Sheffield cutlery trade is, for instance sufficiently remarkable to be worth close examination.

A schedule of goods issued from the King's Wardrobe at the Tower about the fourteenth year of King Edward III (1340), mentions "viii cultells de Hiberto, xx parvos cultellos de Assheborne," and "i cultellum de Shefeld." This is the earliest known mention of Sheffield in connection with knives. With Chaucer's oft-quoted reference in the Reeve's Tale, to the "Shefeld thwytel" which the miller of Trumpington "bare in his hose," this is the only testimony to the existence of the cutlery manufacture, or indeed, of any other manufacture, at Sheffield, so early as the fourteenth century. The "Canterbury Tales" are usually assigned to the latter part of Chaucer's life: that is, from 1373 to 1400. They were written at different times, but were probably put together as a whole somewhat later than 1386. This is near enough to say that

they were contemporory with the Poll-Tax. And from the name of Sheffield being associated by Chaucer with knives, we might have expected to find proof of the existence of the industry in the very carefully prepared schedules for taxing the inhabitants. Those who levied the tax did their work very thoroughly. They were careful to record the status of any individual whose position justified the levying of a tax higher than the minimum of fourpence; and thus we find that the ordinary tradesmen—smiths, wrights, cobblers, tailors, coopers, butchers, and the like—were mulcted in sixpence, farmers in twelvepence, and drapers, innkeepers, tanners, merchants (of whom there were none in Sheffield), at this or even higher rates.

Now if Sheffield cutlery were already famous, we cannot suppose that those who made it would rank, in worldly prosperity, lower than smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and the rest. Yet in the Sheffield return not a single cutler is thus distinguished. The only trace of the occupation in this town is the entry "*Johannes Coteler iiijd.*" It would be rash to say that this John Cutler did not make knives. In the then state of nomenclature, before surnames had become fixed, it was customary to distinguish men (among other characteristics) by their trades. Three-fourths of the names of those entered on the Poll-Tax returns for the West Riding are derived from occupations, and this John, or his father before him, may have been a cutler. This, however, is not more than a presumption, for we have in these lists instances showing that a trade cognomen is no sure guide. Even assuming that John Coteler was a cutler, the presence of one artisan, of the humblest rank, cannot by any possibility be taken to be an adequate explanation how Sheffield could have acquired fame for the production of knives.

How, then, are we to harmonise this absence of any trace of cutlers in the Sheffield Poll-Tax with the fact that Chaucer, London born and bred, attached to the Court, and at one time acting as Comptroller of Customs, used "*Shefeld*" as a sort of trade description, and spoke of a "*Shefeld thwytel*" in terms implying common and familiar knowledge? It may be suggested that possibly

the commonalty of the town were so universally employed in the fabrication of knives and other instruments in their smithies, that the assessors or collectors of the subsidy thought it supererogatory to specify their calling. But this, surely, is inadequate. Even if we take it as presumptive evidence that Sheffield may have been given up to cutlery, it is no explanation of the entire absence among the artificers of masters, or persons of a higher scale employing workers, and engaged in the task of distributing the products of the workshops throughout the country, to the extent indicated by Chaucer's reference. That implies factors or merchants; and there is no sign of a merchant in our Poll-Tax.

The suggestion is all the more untenable because, while we find no mention of cutlers in Sheffield, they are specified in the villages around. That is to say, in Hallamshire there are traces of cutlery as a local industry—small, indeed, but substantial and definite.

The Ecclesfield list contains "*Richardus Hyngham et Isabella utrex ejus* (his wife), *cotteler, vjd.*" At Tinsley there is "*Willelmus Chapman, cotteler, vjd.*"; and at Handsworth there are more: "*Thomas Byrlay et Margaretta vx. ejus, cotteler*; *Johannes at Well, et Alicia vx. ejus, cotteler*; *Thomas Hauk, et Beatrix vx. ejus, coteler.*" And here, too, we have "*Johannes Cotelar, et Johanna, vx. ejus, bakester,*" and "*Johannes Cotelar Junior,*" evidently their son. Now, as "*bakester*" (whence our Baxter and Bagster) was the feminine form of baker, and as baking was one of the employments then largely in the hands of women, we may perhaps be justified in guessing that John and his son worked in the smithy, while Joan supplied bread to her neighbours. In that case we have five cutlers at Handsworth; and while three of them were men of substance, taxed at 6*d.* (John, junior, as only an assistant to his father, got off for 4*d.*), Thomas Hauk was a manufacturer of consideration, for he was assessed at 12*d.* The above are the only names of cutlers that I have found in the lists for this wapentake (the area for taxation). They seem to indicate that the cutlery industry, so far as it existed here, was located in the villages round the town, rather

than in the town itself. And this is exceedingly interesting in view of the conditions of industry which still identify (and in times within living memory yet more closely identified) the outlying villages with special branches of the cutlery trade. There is in this strong confirmation of the belief that in the early days the smaller communities in Hallamshire were, even more distinctly than Sheffield, the seats of the handicraft, and that it was not until comparatively modern times that an immigration set in which gave to Sheffield an overwhelming supremacy. But this makes Chaucer's use of the word "Shefeld" the more puzzling. And as we have no trace of knives in the town, so also are lacking indications of "other edged instruments of steel," which Mr. Hunter had "little doubt" were made here.

The making of arrow-heads has sometimes been spoken of as a Sheffield trade. There was, in 1379, an "arusmyth" (John Scott) in Ecclesfield parish, and one "Henricus Breyksarth" in Handsworth (both assessed at 6*d.*), but none in Sheffield. The only trace of the trade in the town is "Stephanus fletcher" (fletcher being a featherer of arrows).

I am glad of this opportunity of stating the problems involved in this inquiry before the Association, because I am not without hope that the eminent archæologists who are Associates may be able to elucidate a local perplexity; or may, in the course of their researches, come upon fresh evidence throwing light upon points that are now obscure.

It has been suggested by Mr. Sidney O. Addy¹ that Chaucer became acquainted with Sheffield cutlery during the time which, according to Dr. Bond, he spent at Hatfield, near Doncaster, in the household of Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, wife of Edward III's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Dr. Bond assigns as the probable period of this residence, September, 1357, to the end of March, 1358. Professor Skeat thinks it possible that at Hatfield "Chaucer picked up some knowledge of the northern dialect, as employed by him in the 'Reeve's Tale,'" in which the mention of Sheffield *thwytyls* occurs.

¹ *Sheffield Independent*, May 25th, 1901.

If he "picked up" dialect, why not also some acquaintance with local wares? The inference is obvious, but it is not conclusive enough to remove doubts, especially because Doncaster had itself some trade in cutlery. "Doncaster knyfes" are mentioned in 1446 in an inventory of the goods of Thomas Gryssop, of York, Chapman.¹ A knife-making industry is said to have been carried on not only in London, but in many places scattered over the kingdom—Salisbury, Woodstock, Godalming. There is a mention of London knives as early as 1298, and in 1379 "all the reputable men of the trade of cutlers of the City" had protecting articles confirmed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Again, in 1409, the cutlers and bladesmiths were petitioning for redress of the grievance of "foreign folks from divers parts of England," infringing their marks and trespassing upon their monopoly by sending in wares.² This was before the incorporation of the London cutlers.

The little town of Thaxted, in Essex, where one would least of all look for it, presents an especially complete instance of the provincial cutlery trade. In the reign of Edward III, the cutlers there were formed into a company, or mercantile guild, with a warden at their head. The trade was failing in the reign of Henry VII, probably from want of fuel, but attempt was made to resuscitate it by a new charter, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, subsequently confirmed by Elizabeth. But the effort was unavailing, and the industry died out.³ There is a curious link of association between Sheffield and Thaxted, for Sir John Cutt, to whom the Manor of Thaxted was leased by Queen Katherine of Aragon, is identified by Mr. Hunter as the descendant of a Sheffield family.⁴ And at a much later date—the middle of the eighteenth century—ancestors of my own migrated from the neighbourhood of Thaxted (Broxted), to become pioneers in the recently-invented art of silver-plating.

¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iii, Surtees Society. "De v pare Doncaster knyfes. ijs. xid. De xij par ditto, xijs."

² Riley's *Memorials of London and London Life*, 1868.

³ *Reliquary*, vol. v. pp 65-69 (1864-5).

⁴ Gatty's *Hunter's Hallamshire*, p. 59 n.

Perhaps I may be permitted to dwell further, for a few moments, on the teaching of the Poll-Tax, as to the humble social state of the town in 1379; because that seems to me to have been owing to what I insisted on in my Presidential Address—the remoteness of Sheffield, and its absence from direct touch with the great trunk roads, which passed from south to north, all unconscious of its existence.

The inhabitants assessed here were 529, representing (since man and wife were counted as one) 354 payments. But only 42 of these were of a standing that subjected them to a higher assessment than fourpence—thirty-seven at sixpence, and only five above sixpence. The highest tax levied here was forty pence, and two couples paid this—John Mapples, armiger (that is, esquire), and wife, and Thomas Schoter and wife, farmer, of the Manor. Mapples must have been a small squire, for the sum usually levied on that class was 20s., though occasionally 6s. 8d., or, as in this case, 3s. 4d. Two other farmers, Robert and Adam Lynes, or Lynot, of the Grange, were each assessed at twelpence; as was also William de Hanlay “Marchant de beest” (cattle-dealer). The thirty-seven on whom sixpence was levied are all distinguished from the commonalty by having their trades cited specifically in the list. There are nine smiths, six “flessehewers” (butchers), five tailors, three cordwainers or soutars (cobblers), two coopers, two wrights, and two walkers (fullers), with one each webster (weaver), glover, saddler, skinner, locksmith, slater, bagster (baker), and “marifer.” Except these, all are let off with the normal groat, their respective trades not being specified. Of all the inhabitants, only twenty-three were sufficiently well-to-do to keep servants—helpers in their trades or houses. One, John Trypet, had four: two men and two maids. Four others had each a maid and a man, and one, John Montenev, two men. Altogether, there were twenty workmen or assistants, and eleven maids. It is a curious fact, and one I cannot explain, that all those who kept more than one servant were themselves assessed at only a groat.

Now compare this with Rotherham. There, although the payers were 238 against Sheffield's 354, 21 male and

20 female servants were kept. Forty-nine persons were assessed at more than the normal 4*d.*—one, “merchant” as high as 10*s.*, another merchant at 5*s.*, William de Mapples, barker *i.e.*, tanner, at 2*s.*; another “barker” at 40*d.*, and an innkeeper (“osteler”) at 40*d.* Two other innkeepers, three drapers, a baker, an ironmonger, a lyster (dyer), two walkers, a webster, a mason, and a chalonier (in all 13 against Sheffield 3) had to pay 12*d.* each; while 30 (against Sheffield 37) of these or other trades (carpenter, tailor, malt-maker, spicer, *i.e.*, grocer, and so forth), were assessed at 6*d.* From the 49 paying more than a groat at Rotherham 53*s.* 8*d.* was extracted; the 42 at Sheffield yielded only 28*s.* 2*d.* Both the callings and the prosperity indicated by this list form a remarkable contrast to the Sheffield schedule. There is no draper at Sheffield: there are three at Rotherham. We have no “spicers,” only a “mustardman”—Rotherham has two. We have no ironmonger. It is doubtful whether there was a tanner; Rotherham had two. Here there was only one webster against four there. Rotherham shows three prosperous innkeepers; Sheffield has not one—unless we hazard a guess (from the fact of the association of the name with long subsequent innkeeping, and his having had four servants) that John Trypet may have been an “osteler” or “taverner.” But he and his wife, as we have seen, were only mulcted in a groat.

A comparison with the parish of Ecclesfield (excluding the Chapelry of Bradfield) is not without interest. In population and taxable heads it was almost the same as Rotherham, but it yielded more than either Sheffield or Rotherham: Ecclesfield, 132*s.* 6*d.*; Sheffield, 132*s.* 2*d.*; Rotherham 116*s.* 8*d.* This disproportion is, however, accounted for by the fact that Ecclesfield happened to include a “chevalier,” Johannes de Waddeslay, and a “milites,” Thomas FitzWilliam, each of whom had to pay 20*s.* Out of the remaining 242, 218 paid 4*d.*, seventeen, 6*d.*, two, 24*d.*, and one, 40*d.* Of trades, Ecclesfield had six smiths, two souters, two “marchands de beestes,” two tailors, and one each bocher, flessehewer (butchers), bakester, mercer, cartwright, wryght; besides one arusmyth (arrowsmith), and one cotteler (cutler).

In contrast with these, the importance and wealth of the neighbouring town of Doncaster is shown by the fact that its contribution to the Poll-Tax was as much as 233s. 6d.

Our good neighbours below us on the Don are fond of declaring that the old address was "Sheffield, near Rotherham." Their population ranked above ours in prosperity and in the social scale, though it was less in numbers. The town was also on a higher grade than Sheffield in the administrative and magisterial business of the Riding. Justice had to be sought there by Sheffield, with much expenditure of horse-hire and immense inconvenience to complainants, defendants, and witnesses. Ours, indeed, was but an overgrown village. Whatever else we can boast of now, ancient prestige does not contribute to the broadening of our phylacteries.¹

¹ The above paper was prepared to be read at the Sheffield Congress of 1903; hence its local allusions.





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 174).

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13TH, 1903.

On Thursday morning, August 13th, a large party of members and friends visited the earthworks at Wincobank and the fifteenth-century church at Ecclesfield. The sun was shining brilliantly as the visitors toiled up the rough pathway to the top of the hill on which the camp of Wincobank is situated. On the one side of the hill it shone on smiling fields and waving trees, and made the distant brown moors shimmer hazily. On the other side it struggled through black smoke and grey steam down into the grimy, sordid, dismal streets of Brightside — a sadly - misnamed quarter of Sheffield. The contrast was startling, but characteristic of the busy West Riding city.

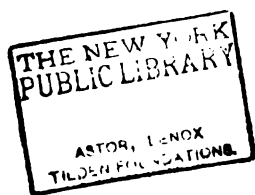
For most of our knowledge of the Wincobank Fort we have to thank the Library and Museums Committee of the Sheffield Corporation, who have defrayed the cost of the excavations recently carried out under the direction of Mr. E. Howarth, who acted as the guide of the party on this occasion, and described the camp. Oval in shape, 150 yards in one diameter and 120 yards in the other, the earthworks can be clearly traced as they encircle the crown of the hill. The outer defence is a bank of earth, next a ditch, and then an inner rampart formed of rough stones piled up to a considerable height, with the larger ones at the base, and the surface faced with smooth clay to render attack more difficult. In this rampart a quantity of burnt stones and charred wood were found built into the wall, and it is surmised that these are relics of the builders' fires. In one or two places the wall had been bored and cut through, so that it might be more thoroughly examined. Round about are small mounds, which have been explored. In one part of the wall the remains of an open hearth have been discovered, but the only "finds" consist of two unworked pieces of jet, four or



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN CHURCH : INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.



ECCLESFIELD CHURCH : SHAFT OF CROSS.





ECCLESFIELD CHURCH : FROM SOUTH-WEST.



BRADFIELD CHURCH : EAST END.



five flint implements, and the fragments of two Roman cinerary urns. These are the only documents which tell us anything about the people who had their homes in the country around, and their "place of refuge" behind the earthwork, the ditch, and the rampart. That the fort itself was not used as a place of residence seems to be fairly established.

Mr. I. C. Gould, in thanking Mr. Howarth, pointed out that, as a rule, the later Celts fixed on a flat-topped hill for their forts, and that a ridged hill, as here, i.e., with so-called "hog-" or "razor-back," is evidence of early date. He would fix the formation of this fort at quite five hundred years before the coming of the Romans; while the Roman urns of dark grey ware would seem to show that the conquerors, as was their wont, used the camp after driving off the natives.

The President, Mr. Leader, in seconding, suggested that the Duke of Norfolk should be approached, with a view to saving this interesting relic of antiquity permanently from the ubiquitous and rapacious builder.¹

The drive was continued to Ecclesfield, where the church, locally known as "the Minster of the Moors," was described by the President. His Paper is printed above, pp. 153-156.

The most interesting relic in the church is to be seen near the south door. This is the base and one shaft of an undoubted Saxon double cross, which was recently found buried just outside the west door, and by it the history of the settlement, if not of the church itself, is carried back to Saxon times. The sculpture on the face of the remaining shaft, as the accompanying illustration shows, consists of inscribed crosses in panels bordered with interlacing scroll pattern, and the stone is beautifully tooled.

A return was then made to the city for lunch, after which the members spent an enjoyable afternoon at Queen's Tower, where they were entertained at a garden party given by Mr. Samuel Roberts, M.P.

The Members of the Association, with many other guests, were received in the pleasant grounds of their host's beautiful residence by Mr. and Mrs. Roberts and Miss Roberts. Nearly all the members present at the Congress had accepted invitations; and among the other visitors were the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, Alderman Brittain, Rev. Canon Julian, Rev. Canon Mason (Rector of Whitwell), Rev. Wm. Odom, Alderman and Mrs. Geo. Senior, Councillor Nowill, Mr. Porter,

¹ Mr. Gould's further remarks on the subject of Wincobank will be found in his Paper (pp. 29-42). As there stated, the Camp has been saved by the gift of the site by the Duke of Norfolk to the Corporation of Sheffield, in response to the representations of the Association.

Dr. John Stokes, Dr. Manton, Mr. W. A. Milner, Mr. Jackson Smith, Mr. T. H. Waterhouse, Mr. A. H. Holland, Mr. E. Howarth, Mr. J. R. Wigfull, Mr. S. Smith, Mr. Wm. Parkin, and others. A pleasant half-hour was spent in conversation on the lawn; meanwhile light refreshments were served, and subsequently the company proceeded to view "Queen Mary's window," that portion of Sheffield Manor which, in 1839, Mr. Roberts's grandfather had removed to its present position.

Mr. Roberts expressed his pleasure at being able to welcome the Association, and gave a short description of the ruin. His grandfather, he said, who was an admirer of Mary Queen of Scots, when building Queen's Tower, obtained permission from the then Duke of Norfolk to remove this part of the Manor, which was falling into ruins, and was being carried away by the people of the district. This was the traditional window, called "Queen Mary's window," which formed the end of the long gallery of the Manor. Some of them, as archaeologists, might say that the Manor ought not to have been removed, but his grandfather's chief intention was to preserve it; and had he not taken the action he did, the window would in all probability have been destroyed. Mr. Roberts also showed his guests the traditional key of Sheffield Manor, which had been given to his father in 1849 by Joseph Hunter, the historian of Hallamshire, in a letter in which he said that he thought Queen's Tower was the proper place to deposit the old Manor relic. In concluding his remarks, Mr. Roberts congratulated the Association on having Mr. R. E. Leader as their President.

Mr. Leader said that whilst they would prefer to see the Manor in the same way that it was known to Queen Mary and to Cardinal Wolsey, they were yet glad that the window had been preserved. He expressed their indebtedness to Mr. Roberts for his hospitality, and for the explanation he had given of the origin of the window. He thought all interested in archaeology in Sheffield must be glad to see it. He, personally, would like to see more Sheffield gentlemen members of the Archaeological Association; by becoming Associates they would get a good deal of interest from the Society, and would also have the satisfaction of knowing that they were helping to elucidate a great many things connected with English history, and to preserve many memorials of the past.

Dr. Birch also thanked Mr. Roberts on behalf of the Association.

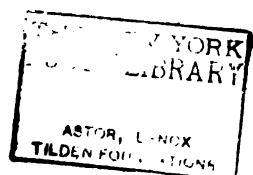
In the evening, at a conversazione at the Weston Park Museum, the unrivalled collection of antiquities got together by the Bateman family, from the Derbyshire barrows, was described by Mr. E. Howarth,



From Photo. kindly lent by Dr. J. H. Morton.
CARBROOK HALL: ROOM ON GROUND FLOOR.



BRIDGE CHAPEL, ROTHERHAM.



Curator; and a Paper was read, in which Mr. W. J. Nichols, Vice-President of the Association, gave a detailed account of his discoveries in "The Caves and Dene-holes of Chislehurst, Kent." This Paper was published in the *Journal* of this Association, vol. lix. pp. 147-160.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14TH, 1903.

On Friday, August 14th, for the first time during the week, the rain was coming down with soaking persistency, when over seventy members and friends started in brakes and carriages for a drive of more than thirty miles, through Rotherham to Roche Abbey, and back by Laughton-en-le-Morthen. On the way to Rotherham, Carbrook Hall, now an inn, was the first item of a very full programme. Mr. J. R. Wigfull acted as guide, and contributed the following

NOTES ON CARBROOK HALL.

The present state of Carbrook Hall differs considerably from the illustration given by Hunter in his *History of Hallamshire*. This shows a building, a portion of which is constructed of half-timber work and the remainder of stone, with mullion windows and gables of early seventeenth-century character. All traces of the half-timber work have now disappeared. The remainder of the building has also undergone alteration, being apparently reduced in size, and at the same time losing its picturesque gables. Fortunately, however, some parts of the interior have been preserved in almost their original condition.

Thomas Bright, of Bradway, settled at Carbrook about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and his son, Stephen, built or enlarged the Hall; his initials S. B., and the date 1623, are still to be seen on the iron back of one of the firegrates. Stephen Bright was a man of some importance in the town, being Bailiff of Hallamshire and Lord of the Manor of Ecclesall. He was granted arms in 17th Charles I, as "a person of £1,000 a year estate, of credit and respect in the affections of the gentry, and of extraordinary merit." He died in 1642, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Bright, who took an active part in the Civil War, rising to the rank of Colonel in the Parliamentary Army. He was appointed Governor of Sheffield Castle after its surrender, and, later, Governor of York; in 1654-55 he was High Sheriff of the county.

Carbrook Hall for about eighty years has been used as a licensed house. The chief object of interest is an oak-panelled room, once the principal apartment of the house, and the scene, no doubt, of many a

conference during the Civil War. The panelling, black with age, is of an elaborate design, divided by pilasters having carved faces; along the top of the panelling is a carved frieze, surmounted by a cornice. Above the panelling is a modelled plaster frieze, ornamented by a flowing design based on the vine, and having shields surrounded by strap work at intervals. The ceiling is divided by beams into six panels; these are ornamented by rib-moulds and modelled foliage; the beams are also enriched by mouldings, and have modelled ornaments on their soffits. At one end of the room is a richly-carved mantel, in the upper part of which is a panel said to represent "Wisdom trampling on Ignorance," the latter represented by a skeleton, while Wisdom is typified by a figure in a long robe, and at one time having a scroll in one hand and probably a pen in the other; surrounding the figures are scrolls, bearing various mottoes in praise of wisdom.

On the upper floor is a room of the same size, with simple panelling on its walls. The ceiling of this room has been renewed, but judging from the modelled plaster on the soffit of one of the windows, it was originally of an ornamental character. The room contains a mantel, with massive trusses supporting the shelf. The overmantel is apparently modelled in plaster; in the centre is an oval shield surrounded by strap work; on the shield is modelled a heron or stork, and a small snake. At the sides of the overmantel are caryatide figures, male and female, bearing Ionic caps. The figures are partly hidden by trusses, below which their feet appear.

Norton House, pulled down about twenty-five years ago, contained a panelled room similar to the one at Carbrook; it was erected in 1623 by Leonard Gill, a relative of the Brights, and was possibly the work of the same designers. An oak mantel from Norton is now at Derwent Hall, and may cause difficulty to future generations of archaeologists if they try and identify the letters Lc G and the date 1623, which are to be seen upon it, with any of the owners of Derwent.

Templeborough was next passed, where Mr. I. C. Gould described the Roman camp, which formed the headquarters of the garrison of this district. The camp is now a turnip field, but the agger and vallum are plainly visible, and in 1877 excavations, conducted by the late Mr. J. D. Leader, led to the discovery of the remains of the prætorium, columns of stone, tiles, pottery, and many relics: indubitable proofs of continued occupation under Roman rule. One find of special importance is recorded by Mr. Leader—a tile bearing the stamp of the fourth cohort of the Gauls—the cohort whose headquarters were afterwards at Vindulana, on the wall of Hadrian. From this he

concluded that Templeborough was one of Agricola's fortresses. There are traces of earthen ramparts, thrown up by a later and ruder race on the line of the old Roman works. Here the land is very valuable, but Mr. Gould expressed a wish, echoed by every member of the party, that the speculative builder might never lay his hands upon it.

At Rotherham, Mr. E. Isle Hubbard, M.S.A., described the church, the present fabric of which is a fine Perpendicular building ascribed to Archbishop Rotherham in 1500. A most interesting feature consists in the fact that the later builders preserved the caps of the piers of the former Norman church, by using them as the foundation supports of the Perpendicular columns. They are laid in the ground reversed. The fan-vaulting supporting the central tower is an early example and of unusual form. Mr. Hubbard's Paper is printed above, pp. 221-225.

Before leaving Rotherham, the party inspected the curious little bridge-chapel, at one time a gaol, but now used as a tobacconist's shop. There are only two other examples of bridge-chapels now remaining in England: one at Wakefield, the other at Bradford-on-Avon.

When Roche Abbey was reached, the rain was still coming steadily down, and the party accordingly gathered under the shelter of the fine thirteenth-century gateway, where the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley gave a short description of the building—its history and a more detailed account being reserved for the evening meeting. Roche Abbey church is in the purest style of Cistercian architecture, with a few traces of later and more ornate work in the chancel and chapels. While the party was inspecting the ruins in the early afternoon, the sun shone out in fitful gleams, lending an air of indescribable charm to the pure unadorned beauty of the remaining walls, with their broken columns and windows, from which all tracery has disappeared: adding force to the feeling of indignation which fills the beholder at sight of the ruthless destruction wrought in the once fair fane.

The drive was continued to Laughton-en-le-Morthen, where the Rev. T. Rigby, vicar, gave an account of the church, which is printed above, pp. 189-194. It contains remains of three successive buildings incorporated in its walls, viz., the first Saxon church, of which the north door and some portion of the walling in the chancel are to be seen; the second Norman one, of which the columns of the northern arcade exist; and the third Early Perpendicular building, which forms the bulk of the present fabric. A curious feature is to be noted in the fact that the Norman columns spoken of, support the later arches. Mr. Lynam made some remarks on the Saxon doorway, which have

also been printed above, pp. 195-198. A move was then made to the earthworks, which lie to the south and west of the church. These were described by Mr. I. C. Gould, who said they form one of the most beautiful examples of the "mound and court" forts in existence. Mr. Gould's remarks on these earthworks will be found in the Paper referred to above.

On the drive back to Sheffield, a drenching thunderstorm completed the discomforts of the day.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held at the Town Hall in the evening, when the customary votes of thanks were passed. The business being concluded, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley read his Paper on "Roche Abbey: its History and Architectural Features," as previously mentioned. This is published in the present volume, pp. 199-220; after which Mr. I. Chalkley Gould read his Paper on "The Early Defensive Earthworks of the Sheffield District." This Paper is in continuation of that which he has already submitted to the Association on the subject of "Earthworks," and was published in this volume, pp. 29-42.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15TH, 1903.

On Saturday, August 15th, a party much reduced in numbers left Sheffield, in pouring rain, to visit Bradfield Church and earthworks. Some members of the party reached the latter, where Mr. Gould pointed out the curious appearance of one side of the escarpment, which looks as though it had slipped down the hillside, though the constructors may have considered the almost precipitous slope a sufficient protection when topped with a strong palisade. The mound here is "mighty," being 58 ft. high and about 39 ft. across on the top, with a wide fosse round it, which links into the fosse of the attached "bailey," only one arm of whose huge rampart—about 310 ft. long—remains, as has been stated; perhaps there never was any more. Mr. Gould considered Bradfield to be simply part of a feudal fortress—never a Saxon moot-hill, or place of assembly.

BRADFIELD CHURCH.

The church was described by the Rector. It is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and has a nave of four bays with north and south aisles, and chancel with aisles of two bays; the central portion extending eastwards, a further bay. There is a tower at the west end and a porch on the south side. The nave arcades and chancel-arch are all that remain of a church erected about the latter part of the

twelfth century. The caps of the nave piers have been cut away for galleries, but sufficient details remain to fix their date. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the church was largely rebuilt; and, with the exception of the parts mentioned above, the whole of the building dates from this time. The list of ministering priests commences with the year 1490; and, probably, this is the date both of the reconstruction of the building and its elevation to the position of an independent parish church. Previously, it was a chapel in the parish of Ecclesfield. The parish registers are in good preservation, and date from 1559. There is a cross of pre-Conquest date, preserved in the north aisle, brought there from a neighbouring place known as "Saxon Cross." At the east end of the chancel aisle a portion is screened off; it is at a lower level, and approached by steps from chancel—probably a bone-house. There is an early Norman font, said to have been presented by the monks of Roche Abbey.

This brought to an end the Congress of 1903, which, in spite of the weather of the last two days, was one of the most successful, as well as pleasant and instructive, of recent times.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1904.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., PRESIDENT; IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. C. H. Shickle, M.A., F.S.A., 9, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.

T. Sturge Cotterell, Esq., J.P., 2, Warwick Villas, Bath.

F. Bligh-Bond, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol.

The thanks of the Council were directed to be accorded to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution—Hodgkins Fund—for “Phylogeny of *Fusus* and its Allies,” Part I, 1901.

„ Do., for “Annual Report, U.S. Museum,” 1902.

„ Do., for “Miscellaneous Collections,” quarterly issue, No. 1, vol. ii.

„ Do., for “Contributions to Knowledge,” vol. xxxiii.

„ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for “Transactions, 1903, vol. xxvi, Part. 2.

„ Mayor of Canterbury and President of the Chamber of Commerce, for “Ancient City of Canterbury,” 1904.

„ Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, vol. xxvi, 1904.

„ Stockholm Archæological Society, for “History of Antiq., *Manadsblod*,” 1898-1899, 1901-1902.

„ Yorkshire Archæological Society, for “Journal,” Part 69.

„ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for “Magazine,” June, 1904.

„ Royal Archæological Institute, for “Journal,” vol. lxi, No. 241.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects, for “Journal,” 3rd and 4th Quarterly Part, 1904, and “Kalendar,” 1904-5.

„ Brussels Archæological Society, for “Report,” 1904.

To the Essex Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. ix, Part 3, 1904.

- „ Do., for "Feet of Fines for Essex" (*continued*).
- „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," 1904.
- „ Palestine Exploration Fund, for "Quarterly Statement," July, 1904.
- „ Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund, for "Journal," No. 2, March, 1904.
- „ Publishers, for "Buddhism," a Quarterly Review, March, 1904, No. 3.
- „ Royal Museum of Prague, Bohemia, for "Památky Archæologické a Mistopism," vol. xxi, Part 2, 1904.

Mr. J. Garstang, F.S.A., Reader in Egyptology to the University of Liverpool, gave a lecture on the Roman fort at Brough, and the result of recent excavations on the site. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of photographic views and plans, exhibited by lantern light. The Roman fort at Brough was a unit in the general order of defence in the north and west of Britain, which belongs in the main to the early and middle second century. One well-defined Roman road joins ancient Brough with the Roman sites at Buxton (Aquæ) to the south, and Dinting (Melandra Castle) to the north. The Roman fort (*castellum*) and the Roman camp (*castra*) are not to be confounded, although there are points of resemblance between them sufficient to warrant a conjecture that both were based upon a common general plan. Both were regular four-sided enclosures, with gates and ways, and buildings always symmetrically placed. But the camp, whether of a temporary nature (an earthwork thrown up on the march, destined, perhaps, to be evacuated after a single night) or a permanent fortress, was in either case planned for a large number of troops, a whole legion or more, and consequently covered a large area (many acres) of ground. The Roman fort, on the contrary, was definitely small and strong, the permanent quarters of a garrison. Its area was commonly four to six acres; in some cases it might be as small as three or as large as eight. The number of soldiers who might be quartered within it is not known, and necessarily varied in different places, but to judge from inscriptions, a cohort of auxiliaries would commonly constitute the garrison. Mr. Garstang proceeded to describe the general aspect and purpose of a Roman fort, together with the interior buildings, so far as their uses are known at present. It is hoped the excavations recently undertaken at Brough may result in clearing away the uncertainty which exists as to the use of certain of

these buildings, such as the large building usually found about the centre of the enclosure, and generally called the *prætorium*. The fort at Brough was one of the smaller forts, and is situated a short distance from Hope Station, on the Dore and Chinley line through Derbyshire.

The excavations made for the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, in August, 1903, were of a preliminary character, but they have, nevertheless, revealed some very interesting features which prove the plan of the fort to be nearly a regular four-sided and walled enclosure with rounded angles, and, seemingly, a gateway about the middle of each side. One feature of particular interest disclosed was an underground chamber, about 8 ft. long by 5 ft. wide at its narrower end, but about 7 ft. wide at the opposite end, and 8 ft. deep. This chamber showed unmistakable evidence of having been altered at a period subsequent to its first formation, the upper part of the wall at its narrower end having been cut away to insert a flight of steps which, about half the height from the bottom, are built up against the wall, and are formed of the stones taken out of the upper part. A very interesting and important discovery was made during the excavation of this pit, or chamber, in the shape of an inscribed tablet. Although the tablet was in four fragmentary parts, they practically presented the whole of the essential portions of the text, which Mr. F. Haverfield renders as under, viz. : "In honour of the Emperor Titus *Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius*, Father of his country, (erected by) the First Cohort of Aquitanians, under Julius Verus, Governor of Britain, and under the direct orders of *Capitonus Fuscus* (or *Priscus*), prefect of the cohort." Only a few days before these fragments were unearthed, an inscription of Antoninus Pius was found in the river Tyne at Newcastle, which also bears the name of Julius Verus. The discovery is the more valuable because hitherto this Julius Verus had not been known to have governed Britain. The photographic illustrations and the capital perspective and bird's-eye views of the presumed restoration of Roman forts, gateways, and bastions, prepared from authentic details, showing the advance in the methods of fortification, as illustrated especially by the gradual change from internal to external towers and turrets, and the arrangements for meeting assailants with a flanking fire, the most perfect example of which now existing is to be seen at Saalburg, in Hesse Darmstadt, enhanced the interest of the lecture.

Dr. Birch, Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. Gould, Mr. Kershaw, and others, took part in the discussion which followed.

There were no exhibitions, owing to the necessity of arranging for the Lantern, but Mr. Patrick announced the results of the efforts made

to preserve Whitgift's Hospital at Croydon, and Mr. Compton read the following notices of antiquarian discoveries during the recess. The Rev. Dr. Astley mentioned a number of others, but time prevented any description being then given.

ROMAN VILLA AT HARPHAM.

Remains of a Roman Villa have been unearthed at Harpham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, six miles north-east from Driffield. They include a number of tesserae and fragments of pottery. The flooring of tesserae had been most carefully set, and upon it were found large blocks of mortar and chalk. The pavement uncovered measured nearly 30 ft. in length by 1 ft. to 4 ft. in breadth, composed of red and white material. One small coin only has so far been found (253-260 A.D.). Fragments of wall-plaster were also discovered, some of which has undergone two processes of decoration. The decorative designs of the flooring are floral.

REMAINS OF CASTLE AT NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

"During excavations by Corporation workmen at Newcastle-under-Lyme, the foundation of part of the castle, built about 1180, all traces of which for years had been lost, was discovered in an excellent state of preservation. A corner wall of plinth courses has been laid bare to the extent of 10 ft. or 12 ft. square, and depth of 8 ft. The wall is of local red sandstone. The excavations are to be continued and the walls traced. The castle was a residence of several early Kings, and John of Gaunt lived there for several years."

ARBROATH ABBEY.

"The Board of Works has intimated its willingness to take over part of Arbroath Abbey, including the Abbot's House and the Regality Tower, for preservation and access to visitors."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14th, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

To the Smithsonian Institution for "A Select Biography of Chemistry," 1492-1902.

„ Do., for "Researches in Helminthology and Parasitology," 1904.

„ Do., for "Collections," vol. xliv, No. 1375.

To the Stockholm Archæological Society, for Hildebrand's "Antikvarisk."

„ Author, for "Turrets and Milestones on the Roman Wall in Northumberland," by Percival Ross, A.M.I.C.E.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a fine pewter tankard and a drinking cup, both bearing the hall stamp, and seemingly of the seventeenth century, the tankard being the older. Dr. Birch expressed the opinion that they had belonged to the Kent branch of the Baker family, which settled in Essex, whence these objects came. Dr. Winstone also exhibited a good example of Battersea ware in the shape of an oblong snuff-box; and Dr. Astley a circular box enamelled on copper, similar in character to the Battersea specimen. Dr. Birch said that the box shown by Dr. Astley was of German manufacture, and intended probably for sweetmeats; both were of the eighteenth century. Dr. Astley also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Selley, some interesting "finds" from the neighbourhood of Bristol, including a stone knife and some flint implements, among them a perfect pigmy arrow-head, together with a bronze fibula, with pin attached, and a curious bronze ornament, found in excavating the foundations of the cathedral. The Chairman exhibited a Cypriote antiquity of about 500 B.C., found by Cesnola, consisting of a rude kind of toy horse of clay, in perfect condition. Mr. Emanuel Green read a Paper upon "Bath Old Bridge and the Chapel Thereon," a subject specially appropriate, as the recent Congress was held in that city. This Paper will be printed. The Chairman, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Gould, Dr. Astley, Mr. Bagster, Mr. Patrick, and others joined in the discussion.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Arts in Early England. By Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A. (2 vols. : John Murray. 32s. net).—In these two handsome volumes, Professor Baldwin Brown has provided the student of the arts and architecture of our Saxon forefathers with a text-book which is at once full, clear, and exhaustive, and which takes its place immediately as authoritative and complete.

In the first volume, Professor Brown deals with the life of Saxon England in its relation to the arts, and in a series of illuminative chapters he succeeds in investing what has hitherto been considered as a dark and barbarous period with a new and strong interest, both in its relations to the past and the future. Anglo-Saxon Art has its roots deep in the past, derived as it is from the Gothic instincts of the first Teutonic invaders of Britain, blended with Roman, Celtic, and Scandinavian influences, and its branches spread an ever-widening embrace over all later developments. So the Professor pursues his theme, from a discussion of the character of mediæval art, and of the country and the town a thousand years ago, the castle, the church, and the monastery, to an account of the conversion of England, the English missionary bishop and his monastic seat, and the Saxon monastery in its relation to learning and art, and thus arrives at the village church, of which he describes the circumstances of its foundation, its constitutional history, and its relation to the life of the people.

In the second volume he discusses all the existing monuments of Anglo-Saxon architecture yet remaining in England, among which he enumerates no less than 183 churches, which contain more or less work that may with certainty be assigned to the Saxon period. For the first time he attempts to classify these remains, for which purpose he divides them into three sub-periods, according as they may be deemed to belong to the centuries *before*, *during*, and *after* the Danish invasion ; and this last sub-period he divides again into three, according as the monuments belong to its earlier, middle, or later years. From the details of his arrangement some experts may be inclined at first to dissent : as, for example, when he assigns the little church at

Bradford-on-Avon to the later years of the tenth century, in the time of Edgar and Dunstan, rather than to St. Aldhelm himself ; but we feel convinced that, as time goes on, so cogent are his arguments, opinions will more and more come round to his side.

One of the most valuable portions of the work is that in which the author demonstrates the influence of the Austrasian portion of the great Carolingian empire upon the contemporary art of the Anglo-Saxon craftsmen. The communications between England and Germany were close and intimate throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, and Germany repaid the labours of missionaries like St. Boniface and St. Lioba and others, by introducing her art-*motifs* into England. In this circumstance he finds the true explanation of the so-called "long-and-short" work of the Anglo-Saxon builders, which is derived from the "Lisenen," or debased Romanesque pilasters of Austrasia, and not from "Carpenters' masonry," as has been hitherto supposed.

Another valuable portion of the work is to be found in the contrast drawn between the position of the cathedral in England and on the Continent ; as a result of which the cathedral sees of England were, until the Conquest, fixed in insignificant country places, such as Dorchester (Oxon.), Sherborne, or Dunwich, instead of being established in the centres of population, as was the custom abroad. But for these and other equally important discussions, we must refer the reader to Professor Brown's lucid and luminous pages.

We regret that space forbids a fuller review of this most important and valuable contribution to knowledge, but we congratulate the author most sincerely on the results of years of painstaking investigation and study of the monuments, and we recommend the work as one with which no student of Anglo-Saxon art and architecture can henceforward dispense. Nothing in this world is permanent, and we do not say that future students may not in some—perhaps in many—respects modify the Professor's results. One generation builds on the foundations laid by another, but we feel assured that in this work we have a foundation laid which no future investigations can altogether displace.

A word must be said, in conclusion, in praise of the excellent illustrations and architectural drawings, many of which are from the pen of Mrs. Baldwin Brown, who is happy in being able to render her husband such efficient assistance in his work !

Methods and Aims in Archaeology. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, LL.D., etc. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1904. 6s. net).—This little book is the outcome of Prof. Petrie's own researches into the

past, more particularly those conducted by him in Egypt during twenty years, from 1884 to 1903. It is at once a result of, and a stimulus to, that true pursuit of archæology, which goes to Mother Earth herself for inspiration, instead of being content with books and documents, of which Professor Petrie is one of the most brilliant of modern exponents. He tells us here what the spade has accomplished in Egypt under his own direction and that of the band of pioneers he has trained to this work ; and when we compare his careful methods, similar to those of General Pitt-Rivers in England, and Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete, with the empirical methods of pre-scientific days, we are not astonished at the success obtained.

Archæology, as the Professor says, is the latest born of the sciences, and it touches us more closely than any other. It gives a more truly "liberal education" than any other subject, and is best fitted to open the mind, and to produce that type of wide interests and toleration which is the highest result of education. So here he gives us the methods and aims of research, which, as he says, have been slowly learned in a quarter of a century.

Anyone who has the opportunity of research, even in the smallest degree, cannot do better than follow Professor Petrie's counsels, hints, and cautions ; and those who have the good fortune to work in a wider field will find this handbook equally indispensable.

We rejoice to know that the young University of Liverpool has honoured itself by founding a Chair of Egyptology, and that in Mr. J. Garstang, one of Dr. Petrie's ablest assistants, it has found a worthy Professor. As Mr. Garstang demonstrated, in a recent lecture before this Association, the methods and aims employed in Egypt are equally adapted to England ; and in the account of his excavations in the Roman Camp at Brough, a proof was afforded of the invaluable results which await the patient investigator who knows how to use pick and spade in interrogating the memorials of the past in this country. Ours is pre-eminently the age of science, and this little book is one of the best guides to scientific archæological research that it has been our fortune to meet with.

Let no one henceforth attempt to disturb the innumerable relics of prehistoric and early historic man with which the hills and dales of England are strewn before he has mastered its contents ! Much irreparable damage would have been avoided had the searchers of past days only known how to search. The book is adorned with numerous illustrations.

The Northern Tribes of Central Australia. By MESSRS. SPENCER AND GILLEN (London : Macmillan and Co. 21s. net).—In this book

those two indefatigable explorers and investigators, whose earlier work among the Arunta people attracted so much notice, give to the world the results of further studies among the Australian natives, the field of their labours in this instance lying to the northward among the Warramunga, Urabunna, Kaitish, and other tribes, extending as far as the Gulf of Carpentaria. The interest of these labours is, of course, chiefly anthropological, but they concern us as archæologists, because in these tribes we see, as nowhere else in the world, people still in the Neolithic stage of culture, whose ideas and beliefs help us to some notion of the ideas and beliefs of our own Neolithic ancestors in Europe.

In some respects the Australian natives, owing to their long isolation, are much behind any of the Neolithic peoples of Europe: for they have continued all along the ages mere naked savages, with no idea of permanent abodes, no clothing, no knowledge of any implements save those fashioned out of wood, bone, and stone, no idea whatever of the cultivation of crops, or of the laying in of a supply of food to tide over hard times, no word for any number beyond three, no belief in anything like a Supreme Being. All the more remarkable, therefore, is it that, to judge by their ceremonies and magic, and their totemistic arrangements, they show a distinct resemblance to similar beliefs and arrangements among the Neolithic peoples of Europe.

Just as these latter thought of all nature as alive and peopled with spirits, so do the Australians, and in their customs we may see a picture of what life in Europe was like thousands of years ago.

"Perhaps the most interesting result of our work," say our authors, "is the demonstration of the fact that, in the whole of this wide area, the belief that every living member of the tribe is the re-incarnation of the spirit ancestor is universal. This belief is just as firmly held by the Urabunna people, who count descent in the female line, as by the Arunta and Warramunga, who count descent in the male line. We have also been able to extend widely the area over which the belief is held that the members of the totemistic group are regarded as responsible for the increase of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group."

Our authors hold that there were two waves of entrance into the Australian continent. The first consisted of the ancestors of the Tasmanian people, who were cut off by the severance of Tasmania from the mainland, and consequently remained, until their extinction, in the Palæolithic stage; the second consisted of the ancestors of the present Australian peoples, who conquered the first immigrants, and, as was always the case, killed off their males and married their females

This second immigration pursued three lines from north to south : the first along the eastern coast, the second westwards, and the third, dealt with in this volume, down the centre of the Continent.

These brought with them a certain series of customs and beliefs, which in the course of ages have been modified from north to south, and finally became stereotyped in the Arunta, from whom a reflex wave flowed back towards the north. Our authors regard the knocking out of a tooth as the earliest form of initiation, the barbarous and revolting customs associated with the modern ceremony of *intichiuma* being later developments. As a proof of the original direction of the tide of immigration, it is curious that such things as corroborees are always handed on from tribe to tribe, passing from north to south, never *vice versâ*.

As we read the account of the various ceremonies connected with the totems, with initiation, with marriage, and so on, we are astonished that people at so low a stage of culture should have developed so elaborate a system of ritual, and it is difficult to remember that is is essentially crude and savage in all its essential points. But it is their number which causes them to appear highly developed—the details are, for the most part, revolting in the extreme. Of all these things a full and accurate description is given, the possibility of which our authors explain by saying that they were able to see and take part in everything, because they were regarded as fully-initiated members of the Arunta tribe. The two fundamental points to be noticed about their beliefs are those already mentioned, viz., their descent from *Alcheringa* ancestors, and the system of totemism everywhere in vogue ; and it is in these respects that they are of supreme interest to the student of Neolithic times in Europa. In their magic also we may see an exact counterpart of that of Neolithic man in Europe, as evidenced by his remains ; and we may trace the origin, among living men, of much of the superstition and folklore which is to be found among the peasantry and unlettered peoples of Europe down to the present day.

No student of Neolithic times should fail to read this book, and its companion volume, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, for nowhere else can such a picture be found of the life of primitive man ; and, as he reads, he will realise with thankfulness from what a condition the civilized races of the world have gradually emerged.

Physically these Australian natives are a fine race, and some of the photographs of children and young people show them to be really intelligent and almost good-looking. But the blight soon falls, and after the degrading rites of initiation a settled gloom descends ; the

men become base and evil-looking, while the women are old and wizened before they are thirty.

There are more than 300 illustrations, two fine coloured plates of objects of magic and ceremonial, and a good map. There are also a full glossary and an adequate index.

It is with the utmost confidence that we recommend this book to the archæologist, but it must be remembered that it is not intended *pueris puellisque*. It may be further noted that the form of the stone implements and tools used by these people is of the exact Neolithic type.

Keltic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and People. By E. W. B. NICHOLSON, M.A., Bodley's Librarian in the University of Oxford. (London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 21s. net.)—"The history of ancient and early mediæval times," says Mr. Nicholson in his Preface, "requires to a far greater extent than more recent history the aid of various other sciences, not the least of which is the science of language. And, although the first object of these studies was to demonstrate to specialists various unrecognised or imperfectly-recognised linguistic facts, the importance of those facts in themselves is much less than that of their historical consequences."

The author claims that the main historical result of his book is the settlement of "the Pictish question," or rather of the two Pictish questions. The first of these is: "What kind of language did the Picts speak?" The second is, "Were the Picts conquered by the Scots?"

The first he claims to have settled by linguistic and palæographical methods only, by showing that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish, differing from that far less than the dialects of some English counties differ from each other. The second, with very little help from language, by historical and textual methods, results, he claims, in proving to any person of impartial and critical mind that the supposed conquest of the Picts by the Scots is an absurd myth.

"The Highlander, as we call him—the Albanach, as he calls himself in his own Gaelic—is, indeed, in the vast majority of cases," says the author, "simply the modern Pict, and his language modern Pictish. To suppose that the great free people from which he is descended were ever conquered by a body of Irish colonists, and that the language he speaks is merely an Irish colonial dialect, are delusions which, I hope, no one will regret to see finally dispelled."

The next most important results of these studies are the demonstra-

tion of the great prominence of the Belgic element in the population of the British Isles, and the evidence that so many of the tribes known to us as inhabiting England and Wales in Roman times spoke, not Old Welsh, as has hitherto been supposed, but Old Irish. Particularly notable for wide dispersion and maritime venture are the Menapians; and he traces to them the origin of the Manx nation and language.

As regards Continental history, the great Goidelic element is now shown to have extended with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine. And here he adds a very necessary caution, viz., that names which have not been purposely invented to describe race must never be taken as proof of race, but only as proof of community of language or community of political organisation.

"The Keltic-speaking peoples of antiquity," he continues, "may have incorporated other Aryan or non-Aryan tribes, and the Keltic language of any given region may have been introduced by quite a small minority of conquerors—like the English language in Ireland. Even as between the Irishman and the Welshman, the language-test is not a race-test; both in North and in South Wales, many scores of thousands of the 'Kymry' are probably descended from ancestors who spoke Irish; and it is equally possible that the Goidels of Ireland may have absorbed tribes, or portions of tribes, which originally spoke Kymric. In other words, such a term as 'Goidels' is to be taken as meaning nothing more than an aggregate of people who speak Goidelic, or whose ancestors spoke it. The chief linguistic result of the Studies (apart from the determination of the nature of Pictish and of the parentage of Highland Gaelic) is the fact that the loss of original *p*, a loss supposed to be the distinguishing feature of the Keltic family of language, is of comparatively late date in the Goidelic branch—that, in fact, *p* was normally kept for centuries after the Christian era, at Bordeaux till the fifth century, in Pictish probably later still."

The body of the book—that is to say, pp. 9-111—was begun in December, 1900, and was meant to be quite a short Paper on the Menapii, Parisii, and Belgae, in England—to be offered to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* as a sequel to the author's "Language of the Continental Picts." He was led on, however, from point to point till, at the end of September, 1901, the "short Paper" would have filled 90 pp. of the *Zeitschrift*; and, on his informing the editors, they very reasonably told him that they could not spare the space. In order to fit the material for publication in book-form, he then wrote the introductory matter on pp. 1-8, and the concluding nine

Appendices in which some of the most valuable of his discoveries are enshrined : *e.g.*, the decipherment of the Coligny tablets, the Rom inscriptions, and the Amélie-les-Bains tablets, which determine the Goidelic character of the Sequanian, Pictavian, and Sordonic dialects of Keltic.

In telling of these results, the author continues : " I should have liked to add much on the vastness and richness of the harvest which awaits labourers in the fields of Keltic philology and Keltic antiquarian research. But, until I know a University which could—or a rich man who would—do something to provide the labour, I fear that I should only be wasting time."

We have thought it right to set forth the aims and objects of the author of this learned volume, as far as possible in his own words, and with his concluding remarks every reader will agree. But although we think that he may fairly claim to have proved that the alleged conquest of the Picts by the Scots was a myth, we cannot allow his claim to have "settled the Pictish question" in regard to his first point, *viz.*, the language spoken by the Picts. For although he concedes that the language spoken by a people does not settle its racial origin, yet in attempting to prove that the Picts spoke a Goidelic tongue, he does go on to argue as though this were a proof that they were Goidels pure and simple. Now "the Pictish question" is much larger and more complex than he apparently would have us allow, and even although it were granted that his reading of the remaining Pictish inscriptions was altogether correct, instead of being highly dubious, there would still remain a residuum of non-Goidelic character, which would make it highly probable that the Picts belonged to the earlier Iberian inhabitants of Britain, though largely mingled with their Goidelic conquerors and speaking their language.

But the reading of the inscriptions is not by any means certain, even after Mr. Nicholson's learned labours upon them. To take two examples only :—The inscription on the St. Vigean's Stone, near Arbroath, is read by Mr. Nicholson, "*Drosten ; i pev oret ett Forcus,*" *viz.*, "Drostan's ; in Py Phoret place Forcus," and taken as a proof of the preservation of initial *p* in Pictish ; but by Professor Rhys, as, "*Drosten ipe uoret ett Forcus,*" and translated, "Drost's offspring Uoret, for Fergus." Again the new Brandsbutt Ogam inscription, which Professor Rhys can make nothing of, is confidently transcribed by Mr. Nicholson as "*I ratad d' O Aren(n ?)*" "in donation to O Faren(n)." Thus we conclude that much more work remains to be done on the inscriptions before they can be taken as the basis for any certain arguments.

The evidence of Irish as well as Highland Gaelic is also against Mr. Nicholson, unless he is prepared to admit the Iberian substratum in the Pictish people; for just as the Irishman employs Gaelic or Erse idioms in speaking English, so the Pict used Iberian idioms in speaking Gaelic, as has been shown by Mr. J. Morris Jones.

But notwithstanding the fact that this book does not "settle the Pictish question," the author deserves all praise for his painstaking labour, and for the many interesting side-lights which he has thrown upon "Keltic Researches."

Many students, of whom the present writer is one, will not admit without much further evidence, that the Belgic people were Goidels, in spite of the solitary Ogam inscription found at Silchester, which has been considered, on apparently sufficient evidence, to be in the heart of a Brythonic district; although, here again, there was undoubtedly a substratum both of Goidelic and Iberian blood mingled with the Brythonic conquerors, who were firmly established before Cæsar's time.

The author's investigations into the relics of Indo-European "P" still existing in the Keltic languages are highly instructive, as are also his conclusions as to the Sequanian, Pictavian, Rom, and Amélie-les-Bains inscriptions, while his ingenuity in interpreting the veriest fragments of extinct languages is something to marvel at. The collotype reproductions of the inscribed stones are admirable; but we could wish that the maps had been on a somewhat larger scale.

This is a book to be studied and taken account of by every student interested in Keltic researches; and we thank the author for opening up so rich a field, and for giving so liberally of the fruits of his learning in a little-trodden by-path of knowledge.

Old Cottages, Farmhouses, and other Half-Timber Buildings in Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Cheshire. By JAS. PARKINSON and E. A. OULD, F.R.I.B.A. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1904. 21s. net).—An anonymous writer in *The Standard* has given such an excellent account of this delightful book that we cannot do better than bring it to the notice of our readers in his own words, with due acknowledgment for embodying his review in our pages. We would only remark for ourselves that Mr. Parkinson's photographs, of which there are exactly one hundred, are most beautifully reproduced by the Collotype process, and are the more valuable inasmuch as many of the examples shown may not be in existence in the course of a few years. Authors and publisher are to be heartily congratulated on this handsome volume, which takes a worthy place beside those which have already dealt with old cottages in Kent, Sussex and Gloucestershire, and with old English doorways.

"The charming volume by Mr. J. Parkinson and Mr. E. A. Ould on the half-timber domestic buildings of three Western counties, just published by Mr. B. T. Batsford, will be welcome to all lovers of these picturesque English structures. Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Cheshire, to which the authors restrict themselves, are especially rich, but this style of architecture occurs elsewhere. Stratford-on-Avon has one fine specimen, besides Shakespeare's much-restored cottage; Towkesbury affords some good examples, and so does Warwick—Leicester's Hospital being quite a gem. They are, in fact, generally most frequent in the counties on either side of the Severn and the Dee. But they exhibit marked differences, as Mr. Ould points out in his useful, but almost too brief, descriptive notes to Mr. Parkinson's photographs. On the east side of England, south of the Thames, an alternation of vertical timbers and long brickwork panels commonly replaces the chequer-patterns of the west; while north of it moulded plaster work is often a successful rival. Nor is such construction confined to England, for we find it common enough in some parts of Germany. In fact, it is sure to be frequent where there is much wood, some brick, and little building stone, and the climax is reached in the all-wood houses of the Mountain Cantons of Switzerland. The style is almost wholly domestic, though it is used in two or three churches, such as Marton, in Cheshire, of which a photograph is given. In this case, the exception justifies the rule. This is no doubt due to the fact that the material makes any but rectilinear designs difficult and costly. The buildings now remaining were for the most part erected between 1558 and 1625, and especially in the last fifty years of this period. Older examples exist, and probably were once more numerous, but many have disappeared. In the west, however, timber continued to be used till well on in the eighteenth century. There are reasons for all this. That efflorescence in Elizabethan days is an indirect consequence of the Reformation, which brought about much building of cottages. The arrest of the process soon after the first quarter of the seventeenth century was due to the approach of the Civil War; then, at the Restoration, the brick buildings of the Netherlands followed the returning Stuarts, and strengthened their footing under William of Orange. Of the three counties included in this volume, Cheshire is the richest in black and white houses, which, as Mr. Ould remarks, 'are as common in its broad plains as the magpies that they so much resemble.' The materials seem equally to suit the cottage and the manor house, the streets of a town or a setting of lawns and trees in the country; Chester, as everyone knows, affords some excellent examples, and what can be more attractive than the Stanley

Palace and the house in Whitefriars. Ludlow supplies another house in a street, and the quaint little abode of the Reader close by its churchyard. Best of the four examples in Shrewsbury is the house at the corner of Butcher's Row, which is both elaborate and effective in design, and one of the oldest instances to be found in the country, for it probably dates from the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Smaller towns, and even villages, have contributed even more largely to this collection. Very effective is a house at Craven Arms, one with a little first-floor gallery at Much Wenlock, the priest's house at Prestbury, and that built by Bishop Percy at Bridgnorth. Among the farmhouses, nothing can be more picturesque than those at Dodmore, near Ludlow, Richard's Castle, The Leys, near Weobly, and Luntley, near Pembridge; the two last-named villages seem to be exceptionally rich, especially in cottages, and for these, however simple, the style is peculiarly adapted. But it can rise readily to the dignity of the manor house, as we can see from such examples as Ludford, Orleton Court, Handforth Hall, with Gawsworth, Welbrough, and Adlington Halls, three near Macclesfield, nor do these names exhaust the list."

The Literature of the Highlands. By MAGNUS MACLEAN. (London: Blackie and Son. 7s. 6d. net).—Mr. Magnus MacLean has followed up his work on "The Literature of the Celts," which was reviewed in our pages last year, with this further work, which deals more particularly with the Highlands of Scotland. It is the more interesting just now, owing to the contest between the United Free Kirk and the "Wee Kirk;" and as we read the story of their literature, we can understand the "dour" and stubborn attitude adopted by the little band of Highlanders who have refused to abandon their principles at the bidding of those of wider views.

The most important chapter deals with Macpherson and his "Ossian." The controversy which raged for so long around the question of the authenticity of "Ossian" is now fought out, and it is admitted that five-eighths of the work is Macpherson's own, while for the remainder he was indebted to ballad stories. Thus the fame of "Ossian" is his, and he is rightly called the Homer of the Highlands. He was undoubtedly a genius, and the charm and enchantment of the epic are all his own. The remaining chapters are not of much general interest, except as showing the sort of literature which is the outcome of, and has been the moulding force of, the Highland character, and the list of Gaelic proverbs displays the want of originality in the people more than anything else. Mr. MacLean, however, proves himself a thorough master of his subject.

English Monastic Life. By Dom F. A. GASQUET, O.S.B., D.D., etc. (London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.)—This is the first volume of "The Antiquary's Library," of which several succeeding volumes have now been published, and which, in its entirety, is intended to convey in a popular form the best results of modern archæological knowledge to the general reader. It is for him they are designed, and it is to be hoped that there is a sufficient demand for such knowledge to reward the publishers and authors for their outlay and trouble. Dr. Cox is the general editor of the series. It goes without saying that the story of Monastic Life in England could have been committed to no one more competent to deal with it than the learned head of the Benedictine Order in England, and right well has he performed his task.

Without going into any detailed historical account of any one Order or House, he pictures the life of a mediæval monastery at its best period, showing the occupation and duties of all its inmates, from the Abbot or Prior down to the Obedientaries and paid servants; and demonstrates how useful was the example of an ordered and disciplined life in the midst of a turbulent population, and how the Houses, both of monks and nuns, were the fosterers of literature and learning, and the instructors of youth among the people. He shows, likewise, what good and generous landlords the religious Houses were, and how grievously the peasantry and yeomen tenants felt the difference when the Dissolution transferred the lands to lay possessors. There are 18 Plates, many from Dugdale; and numerous illustrations adorn the text, as well as three plans of Monastic Houses. There are five maps, showing the distribution of the Religious Orders, but these are so small as to be almost useless, and need enlargement. There is a concise but adequate Bibliography.

A list of all, or nearly all, the English Religious Houses is included, which will be found most serviceable for purposes of reference, and which also shows where ruins, more or less extensive, are to be met with. Praise of Dom Gasquet's work is superfluous, but, within its limits, no better book on the subject exists.

From Messrs. Cassell and Co. we have received the two concluding volumes of their illustrated edition of *Social England*. (Vols. v and vi. 14s. each, net.) These carry the story of the social progress of the English people forward from the year 1714 to 1885, within twenty years of the present time. It is the earlier years of this period which alone more properly fall within our province, but the whole is as fully illustrated and as ably written as were the earlier volumes of this truly great work—a work great in its conception and admirably

carried out. The illustrations are from all sources—portraits, pictures, views, caricatures, besides details of the advance in machinery and in all kinds of articles that make for the comfort and the well-being of the people, and must have entailed an enormous amount of labour on those who are responsible for their choice.

The plan, which was pursued from the commencement, of dealing in order first with the historical setting, and then with the details of the Army and Navy, trade and commerce, literature and art, science, and social progress in all its forms, is carried out to the end, and produces an impression of ordered advance which is almost bewildering in its extent and in its ramifications into every detail of the nation's life. As we purpose dealing with the story told in these six handsome volumes as a whole in a future notice, we will add no more as to these two concluding volumes, except to say that they are fully equal, if not superior, to those that have preceded them; and we can imagine no more acceptable gift for any intelligent boy or girl than this study of *Social England*, nor one which is better calculated to promote a love for Old England, through the discovery of the secrets of her greatness. The letterpress will afford many an hour's enjoyment to older heads. The only fault we have to find is that the volumes, especially the last, are too large and bulky to be comfortably held in the hand.

How to Decipher and Study Old Documents. By E. E. THOYTS, with an introduction by C. TRICE MARTIN. (London: Elliot Stock, 4s. 6d. net.)—This is a reprint of a work published ten years ago, which was well received as a useful manual on the subject of the study of ancient documents. It has been in constant demand ever since it went out of print, and is now reissued in a new and revised form, in the belief that it will be found additionally serviceable in the new edition, and at a time when the interest in ancient family documents is on the increase. The number of those who are called upon to consult ancient deeds, charters, parish registers, and similar documents, has very much increased in recent years: both on account of the many present facilities for access to historical papers, and the greater interest which is now felt in family deeds as throwing light on family history and the records of interesting localities. Some of the difficulties which beset anyone who studies such documents for the first time, unless he be an expert, are the deciphering of the ancient and unfamiliar style of writing; the peculiar abbreviations and signs which were used by our forefathers; the quaint phrases and expressions and obsolete words constantly occurring: the arbitrary and old-fashioned spelling; the use of letters

now out of date; the old forms of foreign languages; customs no longer existing, and other stumbling-blocks, which to the uninitiated are always vexatious, and often cause the would-be student to give up the quest at the threshold of his investigation. It is to enable the more or less experienced student to meet and cope with these and similar difficulties that this work has been compiled, by one who has had considerable experience in research. The following are the subjects treated of in the work, and will show its comprehensive character:—Hints to the beginner; Character by handwriting; Saxon, Norman-French, and law Latin; Old deeds; Law technicalities; Manor and Court rolls; Monastic charters; Parish registers; Parish officers and their account books; Books on palæography; Old letters; Abbreviations, etc. It will prove a useful handbook for those who are interested in family history, genealogy, local history, and other antiquarian subjects; and many who have hitherto been restrained from such investigations by the apparent difficulty of the work will find in its pages the stimulus and guidance which they need to prosecute their studies successfully. *How to Decipher Old Documents* is illustrated with *facsimiles* of deeds and specimens of handwritings of different periods. It is tastefully printed in crown 8vo., on fine paper, appropriately bound in art cloth.

Bygone London Life ("Pictures from a Vanished Past"). By G. L. APPERSON, I.S.O., Editor of *The Antiquary*. (London: Elliot Stock. 6s. net.)—Many books have been written on the endlessly varied aspects of historic London life, but the subject is as inexhaustible as its fascination. The long panorama of that life is of constant interest, not merely to professed antiquaries, but to all men and women of British birth or of British descent in every part of the world; for not only every Briton, in whatever part of the Empire he may live, but every American who traces his descent back to the Old Home, must feel that he is a sharer in the historic inheritance which bygone London has bequeathed to us. The purpose of the author of this volume, as stated in his preface, is "not to treat of any one particular aspect of the London of the past, but to present a few pictures of society of different grades and of various epochs, which should be to some extent typical of social life in the Metropolis during the two centuries between the age of Queen Elizabeth and the Georgian era—the period which formed the connecting link between mediæval and modern times." In the various sections of the book are presented sketches of social and convivial life in tavern and coffee-house; of the vagaries of fashion as exhibited in the beaux and "modish nuen" of various periods; of curiosity-mongering

and the growth of museums, and some typical characters of the old London streets. Among the many illustrations will be found portraits of some of the famous men of letters mentioned in the volume, and sketches of various scenes of old London Life—the watchmen in the streets, convivial gatherings, tavern brawls, and pictures of street life in the picturesque days of sedan and link-boys, “Charleys,” and bellmen.



Swift at the Christening Supper in the St. James's Coffee House.

(Block lent by the Publishers.)

From Mr. Elliot Stock we have also received three further additions to the ever-delightful “Book-lovers’ Library,” 1s. 6d. each, viz., Mr. W. CAREW HAZLITT’s *Studies in Jocular Literature*, Mr. JAS. ANSON FARRER’s *Books Condemned to be Burnt*, and Mr. W. CAREW HAZLITT’s *Gleanings in Old Garden Literature*.—These are all well known and thoroughly established. One might almost call them classics, and no lover of the byways of literature can afford to be without them, now that they can be obtained for so small a sum, and in so dainty and attractive a guise.

Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey. By WALTER JOHNSON and WILLIAM WRIGHT. (London: Elliot Stock. 6s. net.)—This book comes also from Mr. Elliot Stock, and, though noticed last, is by no means the

least important of those sent us by him. In it two indefatigable workers describe the methods and results of their search for traces of Neolithic man in a little corner of one of the smaller English counties, and the results are, to say the least, astonishing. Within the restricted area extending from Streatham and Oroydon on the east, to Kingston and Leatherhead on the west, they have been enabled, by many years of patient observation, to discover indisputable evidences of a large population in Neolithic times, and an enormous number of tools, implements, and weapons have rewarded their search. One of the most remarkable results of their "finds" has been the undoubted proof of the ambidexterity of primitive man, almost as many implements, etc., being adapted for left-handed use as for right-hand. This is a point which has been too much overlooked by previous observers, but now that Messrs. Johnson and Wright have shown the way, we anticipate further discoveries in this direction. The latter part of the book deals largely with surface discoveries, which hitherto have been much neglected, if not despised. An interesting chapter on "Flint" is contributed by Mr. B. C. Polkinghorne, and a full Bibliography adds to the usefulness of the volume. We trust all workers on the Neolithic times will hasten to procure this book, which is a solid contribution to archæology, and a guide to useful and methodical research. No doubt similar treasures await the seeker in other corners of England, who will use his eyes to as good purpose as Messrs. Johnson and Wright have done.

Church Stretton : Some Results of Local Scientific Research. Edited by C. W. CAMPBELL-HYSLOP and E. S. COBBOLD. 3 Vols. 6s. each, net. (Shrewsbury : Wilding.)—This work is of a similar nature to the last noticed, in that it deals with a restricted area, but in its scope it covers a far wider field. For, practically, these three volumes are intended to convey all that is worth knowing about Church Stretton and the surrounding district. And most worthily is that object fulfilled. The Editors have gathered an able band of writers around them, and the subjects dealt with embrace geology, entomology, molluscs, birds, botany, parochial history, and archæological remains. Only the two latter concern us in this *Journal*. *Parochial History* has been committed to the efficient hands of Miss Henrietta Auden, F.R.Hist.S. and Mr. E. S. Cobbold himself deals with the archæological remains. These are contained in the concluding portion of vol. ii, and the whole of vol. iii.

In her account of the *Parochial History*, Miss Auden contrives, in the short space of about fifty pages, to pack an immense amount of

interesting information, culled from various authorities, which it is an advantage to have thus brought into one view.

She tells the story of early and later times, recounts the histories of the manors, and has much to say on the various families who have at different dates belonged to the locality. She describes how the early inhabitants loved the hills, but more because of their defensive capacities than for any other reason ; how the Romans settled the district ; how the Saxons brought confusion and warfare, and after driving the people back again to the hills, settled down in the valley and called the place *Stretton*, the “*ton*” on the “*Strata*,” i.e., that portion of Watling Street which passes that way ; and how, finally, the Norman came to stay ; and the later developments of the country.

Mr. Cobbold deals with the archæological remains under four main divisions, viz., A., Pre-Roman ; B., Reputed Roman ; C., Reputed Saxon ; and D., Church Architecture. The first embraces the barrows and tumuli on the Longmynd, of each of which (some twenty-four in number), a clear plan is given, besides, in some cases, a view ; the Portway ; and three curious linear earthworks, evidently intended for defence. The second embraces fortified posts and roads, of which the Watling Street, already mentioned, is the most important, and a very good example of a villa at Acton Scott. The third embraces Stretton Castle and Brockhurst, and the hamlet of Minton : of which the curious arrangement bespeaks a time when the inhabitants huddled as closely together as possible around the fortified dwelling of their chieftain, for mutual safety ; and in the fourth a detailed account is given of the architectural features of every church embraced in the district.

Church Stretton and its neighbourhood is, as all lovers of Shropshire know, one of the most charming in that charming county ; but it will be a surprise to many that it should contain so much that is interesting and instructive for the archæologist. In this it is surely not exceptional, and we should like to think that these three little volumes were the pioneers of similar effort in every nook and corner of our land. Were it so, the work of the compilers of the *Victoria County Histories* would be very much simplified and assisted. The plans and descriptions of the prehistoric remains on the Longmynd are a most valuable example of the way in which such work should be done, and may well serve as a model for those who are now engaged in carrying out the suggestions of the Committee on Earthworks.

The list of *Errata* is larger than it should be, and one or two slips still remain unnoticed. These corrections should be embodied in a future edition. The Indices are full and useful, and the illustrations and plans leave nothing to be desired.

A Social History of Ancient Ireland. By P. W. JOYCE, LL.D. (London: Longmans and Co. 2 vols, 21s., net.)—Dr Joyce is already well known as an authority on Ireland and her ancient history, and in these two volumes he has set down, for the benefit of his own countrymen, and of the "Sassenach" invader, the results of his studies in the social life of Ancient Ireland. He has tried to do, though in a different way, singly and unaided, what the many writers gathered around them by Dr. Traill and Mr. Mann have done in the earlier volumes of *Social England*, and we hasten to say that he has produced a most readable and instructive book.

It is not at all a "history" in the usual sense of the word; but in a series of successive parts and chapters, Dr. Joyce discusses the condition of social life in Ireland in all its aspects, from the dim dawn of history down to the time of the English Conquest at the close of the twelfth century. These he discusses under the headings of Government; Military systems and Law; Religion; Learning; Art; and Social and Domestic life; and the result is to throw a flood of light upon the condition of Ireland under its native rulers, and at the same time to explain the unconquerable aversion of the Celtic Irish for their conquerors. For the Irish had a complete and complex civilisation of their own, which they have never been willing to exchange for that of the Anglo-Normans, however superior we may fancy it to be. They were also a highly intellectual and poetic people, in this respect differing *toto cælo* from the Anglo-Norman "boors."

What this book shows us is that the social condition of unconquered Ireland was of slow and methodical growth and development, with duly subordinated grades and clearly-defined ranks, professions, trades and industries, all compacted and held together by an all-embracing system of laws and customs, long established and universally recognised.

The book does not deal with prehistoric times, except for purposes of reference or illustration, but it shows the origin of later customs and laws and social regulations in those dim regions where all is legend and mystery before history begins. A study of its pages will serve to correct two opposite errors with regard to ancient Ireland: that of those Englishmen who think that Ireland was a savage and half-barbarous country before the English came, and also that of those Irishmen who have an exaggerated idea of the greatness and splendour of the ancient Irish nation. To quote the author's own words: "Following trustworthy authorities, I have tried to present here a trustworthy picture of ancient Irish life, neither over-praising nor depreciating; for, though I love the honour of Ireland well, I love truth better." We

think his claim is substantiated, and we heartily commend a study of these volumes to the impartial reader. He will find much that explains and mitigates, if it does not justify, the attitude of Ireland towards her conquerors during the last seven hundred eventful years.

The account of the Brehon laws is full and interesting, and many a curious social custom surviving, or but lately become obsolete, is shown to have its origin in the days when Ireland was governed by her native kings. The artistic genius of the Irish people, not only in metal-work and the illumination of manuscripts, but in ornamental work of everykind—weapons, jewellery, and such-like—is well described, and the overlap of Pagan and Christian art is fully accounted for. The book is provided with no less than 358 illustrations, and there is a good index and an excellent Bibliography.

Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities, Third Edition. By JOHN COOKE, M.A. (London : John Murray; Dublin : Hodges, Figgis and Co., 10s. 6d. net).—The Handbook of Irish Antiquities, by the late eminent antiquary, Mr. W. F. Wakeman, is so well-known to all students of Irish archæology, that this third edition needs no words of approbation to commend it to notice. But Mr. Wakeman's book had grown out of date, and Mr. Cooke was asked to undertake its revision, and to add all that later investigation had rendered necessary. This work he has accomplished with a thoroughness beyond all praise. As a consequence, the greater part of the book has been practically rewritten and expanded throughout, while the chapters on Burial Customs, Ogam Stones, Stone Forts, Lake Dwellings, the Stone and Bronze Ages, and Early Christian Art, are all practically new. The book is therefore, in its present form, a complete and accurate catena of the state of knowledge in regard to the antiquities of Ireland, from the earliest times down to the architecture and art of the Middle Ages. Mr. Cooke differs from the majority of his predecessors in laying special stress upon the sources of Irish antiquities, and in showing that, so far from being indigenous to the soil, they are dependent on the successive waves of influences sweeping from the Mediterranean littoral and from Central Europe, ever westward and northward. Thus he contributes to the extension of that without which all antiquities are practically worthless to the student, the study of comparative archæology. We find this wholly enlightened and modern spirit breathing throughout the book, from the study of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, through the development of Late-Celtic art on to the discussion of Christian art, and the question of the origin of the round towers and Irish mediæval architecture. Thus Mr. Cooke has increased manifold the

value of his book ; and it is at once a handbook to the student, a guide to the traveller, and a most readable companion for the stay-at-home archæologist. There is more real learning and knowledge packed within the pages of this unpretentious little book than in many much larger and more ambitious attempts to describe the antiquities of a country which is full of interest to every one who desires to understand the memorials which past ages have bequeathed to their successors. The volume is adorned with nearly two hundred illustrations, and there is a good index.

Many a good archæologist finds himself or herself bitten with the prevalent mania for "collecting," which appeals to the less arduous side of the science in lighter hours. Such will be pleased with the three books which we notice together. *How to Identify Old China*, by MRS. WILLOUGHBY HODGSON (London: Geo. Bell and Son, 1904. 6s. net) treats of the subject in an easy and popular manner, and will enable the collector to arrange his specimens with knowledge, and to distinguish the genuine and the false products of the various potteries. The distinction between "pottery" and "china" is clearly drawn, and the origin of the latter art in England is derived from the importation of Chinese porcelain as early as 1506 ; in 1576 Queen Elizabeth is said to have highly valued a "porringer of white porcelain." The first stoneware was made at Fulham in 1671, previously to which wood and pewter had been the materials in common use. Wrotham ware dates from 1688, and Lambeth ware from 1676. The Staffordshire potteries commenced work in 1686. Wedgwood pottery goes back as far as 1691, though Josiah Wedgwood was not born till 1731. The first maker was his great-uncle. Leeds pottery dates from 1714. The earliest porcelain was manufactured at Bow in 1730, Chelsea followed in 1745, Derby probably in 1756, Bristol in 1773 ; Worcester dates from 1750, and Lowestoft from 1758. Of each and all of these, and of many others, a full and complete history is given, and many beautiful specimens are illustrated. A chapter of cautions and suggestions brings a delightful book to a conclusion.

Chats on English China, by ARTHUR HAYDEN (T. Fisher Unwin, 5s., net), is arranged on quite a different plan, but will be equally useful in enabling the possessors of old china to determine the factories at which their ware was produced. A full and complete account is given of the rise and progress and final extinction of the old factories. The story of the Lowestoft factory is particularly interesting, and made more so by the description of the excavations on the site of the

old factory in the year 1901. These resulted in the discovery of some of the moulds from which existing pieces were made, which are now in the collection of Mr. J. U. Yallup, of Lowestoft; and thus a criterion is established whereby the genuine products of this factory may be distinguished from the mass of spurious ware which is designated "Lowestoft." In connection with the eighteenth-century inscribed mugs and jugs, there are many quaint rhymes given, and of Lustre ware, which is now so great a favourite, there is a full account. A distinguishing feature of the book is the "List of Sale Prices," which concludes the account of each sort of ware, and a Bibliography and full index enhance the usefulness of the volume as a reliable handbook. A large number of illustrations, including a coloured plate of the beautiful Worcester vase from Lady Charlotte Schreiber's collection, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, adorn its pages. With these two books in hand, the lover of china, though he may be only possessed of moderate means, cannot fail to secure some treasures for his collection.

From Messrs. Geo. Bell and Sons we have received another collector's manual, viz., *How to Collect Old Furniture*, by FREDERICK LITCHFIELD. (6s. net.)—Many people are possessed by a desire to furnish their houses, not merely in the old style, but with genuine pieces of old furniture: although not everyone possesses the necessary knowledge to ensure himself against at times buying the counterfeit for the real article. Whoever studies this book with care will, at least, be likely to make fewer mistakes than those who depend solely on their own appreciation of what is good, for Mr. Litchfield writes as an expert on the subject of which he treats. Before the end of the fifteenth century, furniture, in the modern sense, did not exist. It is therefore with the great art movement which had its rise at that time in Italy, and spread through Spain and Germany to the Netherlands, then to France, and finally to England in the reign of Henry VIII, that he commences his work. The Renaissance affected art in all its branches, and furniture no less than architecture, painting, and literature. Thus a lucid chapter describes its effect in Italy itself, where cabinets like classic gateways, and *Cassone*, or marriage-chests, like antique sarcophagi, were among its products. Tables and chairs then also first came into general use. This is succeeded by an account of the spread of the movement throughout Europe, and its triumph in England in the days of Elizabeth, whence we proceed to investigate the massive oaken bedsteads and tables and chests of King James's days. Passing by those chapters which deal with

French, Italian, and Dutch furniture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a study of which makes one familiar with the periods known as Louis XIV, XV, and XVI, of which the French *Vernis Martin* panels, the French and Dutch *marqueterie*, and the Italian *pietra dura* are the most striking products, we come to familiar ground in English eighteenth-century furniture. The Dutch influence is shown to have been predominant in the reign of William and Mary (as was to be expected), and in the Queen Anne style, and even the early Georgian. This was followed by the French influence, which was so fully exhibited by Chippendale, Sheraton, Heppelwhite, and their contemporaries and successors. These are severally distinguished from one another; and after the period of the Regency we come to the time of the utter absence of taste, and of the worst rococo and baroque treatment of wood made into furniture, known as the Early Victorian, which has now happily passed away.

By following the "Hints and Cautions," which have a chapter to themselves, anyone with a little taste and judgment, and moderate means, may furnish after the style of his choice, and be fairly certain that his goods are genuine. A useful glossary of "Notes and Explanations," and a good index are provided, and numerous illustrations of fine old pieces of furniture in every style adorn the book.

From Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen we have received the first two parts of *A History of English Furniture*, by PERCY MACQUOID, with plates in colours, after SHIRLEY SLOCOMBE, and numerous illustrations. To be completed in 20 parts. (7s. 6d. each net.)—This truly great work, of which the first two parts are before us, promises in every respect to take its place as the standard history of English furniture for a long while to come, and it fills a niche which has hitherto been quite unoccupied, save for such books as those just noticed. The text is furnished by Mr. Percy Macquoid, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for accurate knowledge of the artistic and historical sides of his subject. The book has been in progress for some years. The greatest pains have been taken to secure examples of English furniture which most thoroughly represent their respective periods, and the illustrations are in every instance taken from the actual objects themselves.

Mr. Macquoid divides his whole work into four periods, of which he calls the first, dating from 1500 to 1660, "The Age of Oak;" the second, from 1660 to 1730, "The Age of Walnut;" the third, 1730 to 1770, "The Age of Mahogany;" and the fourth, 1770 to 1820, "The

Composite Age." The first three names, of course, refer only to the kind of wood predominantly used during each period.

These two opening parts, containing 96 pages of letterpress, six coloured plates, and some 100 illustrations in the text, deal with the earlier portion of the "Age of Oak" down to about 1580, and contain a most complete and thorough account of the subject. The author is not above lightening his pages with humorous touches—as when he quotes, in the midst of a description of the Queen's bedroom, a letter from Gilbert Talbot to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, written in 1570, in which the writer describes the Virgin Queen leaning out of her bed-room window, arrayed in her night attire (which incidentally shows that such attire was at that time already worn).

But while according all due praise to the author, it must be said that the supreme value of the book lies in its illustrations. These form a perfect museum of exquisite or interesting objects, and to have this book will be equivalent to possessing the objects themselves, at a nominal cost.

Mr. Slocombe's coloured plates are simply magnificent, and are so elaborately treated that they show, not merely the utmost delicacy of ornamentation, but even the very grain of the wood, while the half-tone illustrations could not be more carefully reproduced. They all, indeed, surpass in beauty anything of the kind previously attempted: author, publishers, and artists deserve our heartiest congratulations, and for such a work as this we trust the British public will mark its appreciation in the best way possible by supplying an adequate number of subscribers.

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Edited by DOM CABROL, Abbot of Farnborough. Fasc. III. (Paris: Latouzey et Ané. 5 fr. each, net.)—From the publishers we have received the third fascicule of this great Dictionary of Christian Archæology, and the work is carried forward therein from the word "Afrique," which was just previously commenced, as far as "Agneau," covering no less than 320 closely-printed columns.

At this rate of progress it may be judged how long a time must elapse before the work is completed, and each part that is published only makes the reader long the more for the day when he will be able to refer to any portion of the whole book. However, we must be thankful for our mercies as we receive them, and we hasten to say that the present instalment in no way falls behind its predecessors, and carries forward the promise of those to come.

How fully each subject is studied may be discovered from the fact that "Afrique" comprises no less than four articles, under the headings : "Afrique (Histoire et Typographie de l') ; Afrique (Liturgie Anti-Nicéenne de l') ; Afrique (Liturgie Post-Nicéenne de l') ; Afrique (Archéologie de l') ; and Afrique (Langues Parlées en) ; while for the epigraphy of Africa we are referred to the words "Byzacène," "Mauritanie," "Numidie," and "Proconsulaire" later on. Of these articles, extending over more than 200 columns, the learned Dom Leclercq is responsible for the first and the two last, Dom Cabrol himself taking the liturgical articles.

It need not be said that the "Africa" here discussed is Roman Africa, comprised to-day in Tunis and Algeria, and part of Morocco ; and no more thorough account of Christianity in Africa, ere it was wiped out, first by the incursions of the Vandals and then by the Saracens, anywhere exists than is to be found here. The articles by the editor on the "Liturgy of the African Church," both before and after the Council of Nicaea, are particularly interesting and instructive, and are illustrated by references to the inscriptions, everywhere abundant ; while that on the "Christian Archæology of Africa" is illustrated by plans and views of the ruins of basilicas and other remains which have been discovered since the French occupation of the country. These are of special value, as showing the growth of ecclesiastical architecture in this province of the Empire, and its influence on subsequent Romanesque and Byzantine styles. No church in Africa whose remains exist, says Dom Leclercq, is earlier than "the peace of the Church" (A.D. 313) ; but these and other Christian remains are very numerous, one of the most remarkable being the basilica at Tipasa, in which an extraordinary number of monuments with inscriptions has been found. The buildings were, for the most part, oblong in shape, divided into three parts by two lines of columns. At one end there is the *atrium*, at the other the apse or apses, and the presbytery usually extends one-third to half the length of the nave, being screened off. For the systematic and scientific exploration of these and other remains—both of Pagan and Christian Africa—on the part of learned societies and scholars, we have to thank the enlightened patronage of the French Government, which, in this respect, sets an example which other Governments in a similar situation might well follow.

Dom Leclercq is also responsible for a long and erudite article on the subject of the "Agapé," in which the origin of the Christian "Agapé" is traced to the Pagan funeral feasts, which were themselves the outcome of the prehistoric offerings *for* and *to* the dead, and belong

to the circle of primitive Neolithic ideas. The connection of these with the Last Supper, and finally with the feasts in commemoration of the Martyrs, is clearly demonstrated; and thus the Church is seen, here as everywhere, incorporating primitive and Pagan ideas and customs into her system. He also writes on the curious legend connected with the town of Agaune, situated about sixty miles from Geneva, which "became celebrated owing to a story, whose historical accuracy remains disputable, which locates there the episode of the massacre of an entire legion in the early years of the fourth century."

The notes and references are as full as ever, and leave one amazed at the patient and laborious research of which each article is the fruit; while no less than 105 illustrations, besides reproductions of inscriptions, embellish the text. Students of liturgiology and of Christian antiquity owe a debt of gratitude to Dom Cabrol and his learned coadjutors, of whom Dom Leclercq is certainly so far the chief, for this unrivalled contribution to the literature of the subject. One can only hope that they may be spared to bring their great undertaking to a satisfactory conclusion. Meanwhile, there must be many among ourselves who will contribute towards the success of the work by subscribing for it as it is issued.

From Messrs. Asher and Co., of Berlin and London, we have received the first Part of a new work by Professor OSCAR MONTELIUS, of Stockholm, entitled *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa*. The whole work is intended to be a history of the older periods of culture, as exemplified by the ornamentation of weapons and implements, whereby the relationships and contrasts between the styles of Western Asia and Egypt and those of the earliest historic periods of Greece, Italy, and the lands of Middle and Northern Europe will be described and illustrated. It is intended to consist of six to eight parts, each to cost 25s. net, of which the first is before us. In this the Professor unfolds his "method," and describes the process of his classification. His "method" is what he calls the "typological;" and, as he describes it, one sees that it is the only scientific means of arriving at the period to which any particular type in any of these countries belongs.

The author distinguishes first between "absolute" and "relative" chronology. Relative chronology answers the question whether one object is older or younger than another. Absolute chronology shows us to which century before or after Christ that object belongs. In order to understand relative chronology, we must decide (1) which types are contemporary, and (2) in what order the different periods follow one

another. To understand this we must decide what constitutes a "type," and what a "find." A "find" in this connection may be described as the sum of those objects which have been discovered under such conditions, as that they may be considered to belong to an absolutely contemporary deposit. This being settled we can decide on the "types," and the typological method becomes possible.

Thus Professor Montelius opens up a new field of research, in which he shows how the older Neolithic types are carried on into the Bronze Age, and these into the earliest Mycenaean and Etruscan periods, and compares them with the products of Egypt, Assyria, Middle Europe, and Scandinavia. In these we can see how the older types are reproduced and modified, and how, for example, the horizontal lines on later Bronze celts are derived from the thong-bindings of the Neolithic and earlier Bronze forms; how the Swastika, and spiral, and cup- and ring-ornament, are universal; and how the beautiful lotus and palmette ornament of Egypt is found to have travelled eastward to Assyria and northward as far as Scandinavia, through Greece. "The typologic evolution" of this latter, says the author, "deserves special attention and study," and he devotes nearly forty pages to its discussion. The present Part contains 110 pages of letterpress, and is embellished with nearly 500 illustrations. These comprise axe-heads fibulae and urns of bronze, as well as clay urns and other articles from Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, showing the rise and progress of the *motifs* of ornament and the survival of details, which were at first useful, as ornament, when their meaning and use has been forgotten; together with every variety of the lotus and palmette ornament, and the "egg-and-dart-moulding" derived from it, from Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, Etruria, Cyprus, Italy, and the northern lands. The book is very handsomely got up, and will form, when complete, a large quarto volume, which will be of the greatest service to all students of pre- and proto-historic ornament. We could wish that an English translation might be hoped for; but such works seem only possible in Germany, where research is encouraged by the Government, and finds a public fitted to avail itself of its benefits.



Obituary.

MICHAEL LLOYD FERRAR.

Michael Lloyd Ferrar, of the Bengal Civil Service (retired list), died suddenly at his house, Little Gidding, near Ealing, on April 23rd, 1904. He was born at Coleraine, co. Antrim, November 24th, 1839, and was the third son of M. L. Ferrar, of Belfast, and grandson of William Hugh Ferrar, J.P., Resident Magistrate of Belfast, 1825, and a descendant of an old English family (Ferrar, of Little Gidding Manor, in Huntingdonshire), settled in Ireland since the siege of Limerick, 1691. Several members of that family had taken an active part in the founding of the American Colonies, especially of Virginia; but they are better known in history by their retirement from a political life, and forming themselves into a semi-religious community, under the guidance of Nicholas Ferrar, at Little Gidding Manor, in 1622.

Mr. Ferrar was educated at Trinity College, Dublin; was ex-scholar and prizeman. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1863, as "Assistant Magistrate," and was successively "Joint Magistrate," "Settlement Officer," "Magistrate," "Deputy Commissioner," "Sessions Judge and Commissioner" of Fyzabad, in Oudh, 1889 and 1890; when, in 1891, the two provinces of "Oudh" and the "The North-West" were amalgamated under one Lieutenant-Governor, he was appointed the first Commissioner of the new "Division of Gorakhpur," which high appointment he held until his retirement, in 1896. During his tenure of it he was called upon to display courage and judgment in dealing with the "Cow Killing" disturbances, in 1893.

The Commissioner's presence at Azamgarh gave the needful support to the youthful and inexperienced local officers, and the three European officials who had to face the crisis were able to report, after a few anxious days, that the danger was past.

Mr. Ferrar was a man of exceptionally amiable disposition, popular among both Europeans and natives, and to all classes he was kind, just, and generous. He joined this Association soon after his return from India, and was a constant attendant at Congresses since. He was not often able to attend the evening meetings, but after becoming a Member of Council he took an increasing interest in its proceedings, and his sudden death has been felt as a personal loss by all who knew him among its members.

VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

We regret to record the death, from pneumonia, of Viscount Melville, which took place recently at Cotterstock Hall, Oundle, his seat in Northamptonshire. Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira, succeeded his uncle as fifth Viscount on February 18th, 1886. He married, June 18, 1891, the Hon. Violet Cochrane-Baillie, youngest daughter of the first Lord Lamington, and sister to the present Baron, who is Governor of Bombay. He leaves two daughters,

the Hon. Maisie and Montagu Dundas. He is succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Charles Saunders Douglas, I.S.O., his Majesty's Consul-General at Christiania.

The members of this Association will remember the courteous entertainment given them by Viscount Melville at Cotterstock, in 1898, during the Peterborough Congress; soon after which he joined the Association, and continued a member till his death.

NORMAN MAC COLL, M.A.

It is with much regret that we record the sudden death of Mr. Norman MacColl, formerly editor of the *Athenæum*, on December 15th last. He was not a member of this Association, but the present writer can testify to his interest in archæology, and to his readiness to admit anything archæologically interesting into the columns of that journal, as also to his uniform kindness and courtesy of disposition. His will be a real loss to all those to whom literature and science are more than a mere name. From the notice in the *Standard*, we make the following extracts :—

“Mr. Norman MacColl was a Fellow of Downing College, Cambridge, a barrister, a scholar, and for thirty years Editor of the *Athenæum*. He was born of Scotch parents, the family being residents of Edinburgh. His connection with Cambridge was always a close and intimate one. One of his Undergraduate contemporaries there was Sir Charles Dilke. It might almost be said that from college he stepped into the editorial chair of the *Athenæum*—at the age of twenty-seven, and in the year 1870. In much the same way, a quarter of a century later, Mr. MacColl chose his assistant from Cambridge, selecting Mr. Vernon Rendall, the present Editor of the *Athenæum*, from the ranks of Cambridge journalism. In 1900, after thirty years of honourable and useful work, Mr. MacColl finally retired from his editorial labours.

“Many good things were said of Norman MacColl. For instance, that he began life in well-preserved middle-age; and that he was an ideal editor for a journal of criticism, for the reason that he was not amenable to any sort of personal influence. Though fond of congenial society, he was fastidious in his intimacies, and selected his friends as carefully as his books and his wines. But he was no hermit. At one time he used to take long walks, chiefly in Surrey, with Sir Leslie Stephen, Mr. George Meredith, and a few other members of a select little fraternity. The circle which comprised Rossetti, Swinburne, and their chosen intimacies, knew Norman MacColl well. His quiet independence was immovable; his passive, unswerving justice invulnerable to attack. Habitually a rather silent man, when led into a congenial vein, he was an interesting talker. He was devoted to golf, and played an excellent game. He was a fine historical scholar, a sound classic, and an authority on Spanish literature, his last work being an admirable translation of the ‘Exemplary Novels of Cervantes,’ issued only two years ago. Other publications were ‘Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus,’ published in 1869, and ‘Select Plays of Calderon,’ which appeared in 1888.”

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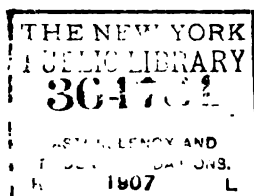
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NOTE

This Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co.



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Dorsetshire—

"Chickorwell," "Dorchester,"
 "Evershot," "Fifehead Neville,"
 "Fleet," "Gussage," "Knowl-
 ton," "Mapperton," "Milton
 Abbas," "Newton," "Oke-
 ford," "Parnham," "Piddle-
 town," "Preston," "Portisham,"
 "Portland," "Powerstock,"
 "Poxwell," "Tarrant Rushton,"
 "Tollard Royal," "Wareham,"
 "Whitechurch Canoniconum,"
 "Wimborne," "Woodsford,"
 "Wootton Glanville."

Driffild : *Wright*.

Dublin : *Berry, Falkner*.

Duffield Forest : *Strutt*.

Dunstanburgh : *Compton*.

Durham : *Fowler, Hope, Hudson*.

Durnford : *Ponting*.

Durrington : *Ponting, Ruddle*.

Duston : *George*.

Duxford : *Sayle*.

Eastchurch : *Dickson*.

Eccleshall : *Swynnerton*.

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 Price, Revillout, Sayce, Wiede-
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Enfield : *Smith*.

Erlestoke : *Watson-Taylor*.

Essex : *Christy, Round, Waller*. See
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 "Hatfield Broad Oak," "Horndon-
 on-the-Hill," "Kelvedon,"
 "Little Canfield," "Roydon,"
 "Tilley," "Tollshunt Major,"
 "Tilbury (East)."

Exeter : *Bell, Brushfield, Clark, Reed*.

Evercreach : *Gray*.

Evershot : *Milne*.

Eynsford : *Hill*.

Fakenham : *Rye*.

Family names : *Elwes*.

Faroe islands : *Annandale, Taylor*.

Fifehead Neville : *Engelheart*.

Fiji : *Lang*.

Fleet : *Barnes*.

Fishlake : *Fairbank*.

Folklore : *Addy, Amery, Andrew,
 Buchanan, Burne, Cameron,
 Cartwright, Chadwick, Colling-
 wood, Crooke, Cumming, Dames,
 Elworthy, Fell, Fowler, Haddon,*

Folklore—

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Fonts : *Fryer, Smith*.

Ford : *Hussey*.

Forest : *Harrison, Matcham, Moens,
 Strutt*.

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Furniture : *Clark*.

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 Chanter, Clay, Clements, Coleman,
 Cooper, Cox, Denny, Ellis, Elton,
 Elwes, Fitzgerald, Fletcher, Fry,
 Greenwood, Gunson, Hartshorne,
 Hasted, Hawkesbury, Hingeston,
 Jones, Kirke, Lawlor, Lega-
 Weekes, Phillips, Pinches, Rad-
 ford, Rice, Round, Rye, Stone,
 Swynnerton, Troup, Vicars, Wal-
 ler, Wardell, Watson, Whiteside,
 Wrottesley, Wykes-Finch*.

Gilestone : *Halliday*.

Glasgow : *MacDonald*.

Glass (stained) : *Baddeley, Bell*.

Glastonbury : *Mansel-Pleydell*.

Gloucester : *Bazeley, Hyett*.

Gloucestershire : *Eagnall-Oakeley,
 Hartshorne, Were*. See "Aust
 Cliff," "Brislington," "Bristol,"
 "Coombe Dingle," "Deer-
 hurst," "Gloucester,"
 "Tewkesbury."

Gosforth : *Parker*.

Great Bedwyn : *Goddard*.

Great Crosby : *Goffey*.

Great Stamford : *Grueber*.

Greek antiquities : *Dawkins, Dent,
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 Goodspeed, Harrison, Hasluck,
 Hirst, Lorimer, MacDonald,
 Mackenzie, Murray, Strong,
 Wace, Williams*.

Gresford : *Palmer*.

Guilden Morden : *Fordham*.

Guilsfield : *Jones*.

Gussage : *Baker*.

- Hampshire : *See* "Silchester."
 Hampton-on-Thames : *Kirby*.
 Hardwick : *Hawkesbury*.
 Harmondsworth : *Kirby*.
 Harpham : *Collier, Stephenson*.
 Hatfield Broad Oak : *Galpin*.
 Haverford : *Owen*.
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 Herculeaneum : *Hughes*.
 Heston : *Kirby*.
 High Halden : *Livett, Rammell*.
 Holme Cultram : *Grainger*.
 Homestall : *Stenning*.
 Horn books : *Axon*.
 Horndon-on-the-Hill : *Round*.
 Horningsea : *Hughes*.
 Horse shoes : *Hughes, Richards*.
 Horsham : *Godman*.
 Hotspur : *Auden*.
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 Hunstanton : *Le Strange*.
 Huntingdon : *Vesey*.
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 Iceland : *Annandale*.
 Icklesham : *Livett*.
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 Ipswich : *Layard*.
 Ireland : *Barry, Berry, Bigger, Brown, Buick, Bury, Coffey, Falkiner, Fitzgerald, Haddon, Knowles, Milligan, McWatters, Orpen, Rhys, Stubbs, Westropp. See "Ardmore," "Ardrahan," "Ballywillan," "Beltinglass," "Connaught," "Dalkey," "Donaghmore," "Dublin," "Kildare," "Kilree," "Kiltevenan," "Maghera," "Young-hall."*
 Iron work : *Dawson, Hart*.
 Isleworth : *Kirby*.
 Kelvedon : *Hay*.
 Kendal : *Whitwell*.
 Kent : *Arnold, Frampton, Gardner-Waterman, Hussey, Stephenson. See "Ashford," "Canterbury," "Chart (Great)," "Crayford," "Dartford," "Eastchurch," "Eynsford," "Ford," "High Halden," "Lillechurch," "Walter."*
 Keswick : *Marshall*.
 Kettering : *Gotch*.
 Kildare : *Buckley, Fitzgerald, Vigors*.
 Kilree : *Clark*.
 Kiltevenan : *Flood, Knox*.
 Kintyre : *Fleming*.
 Kirklees : *Chadwick*.
 Knapwell : *Hughes*.
 Knowle : *Cunnington, Dixon*.
 Knowlton : *Baker*.
 Lancashire : *Brownbill, Farrer, Fishwick, Harrison, Hollins, Lancashire, Roeder, Taylor. See "Alderley Edge," "Arbury," "Ashton-under-Lyne," "Bleasdale," "Cocken," "Conishead," "Furness," "Great Crosby," "Liverpool," "Macclesfield," "Manchester," "Much Wootton," "Pennington," "Ribchester," "Urswick."*
 Langton : *Mortimer*.
 Lantony : *Baddeley*.
 Leeds : *Lumb*.
 Leicester : *Compton*.
 Leicestershire : *Freer. See "Aylestone," "Leicester," "Rothley."*
 Lewes : *Rice*.
 Lillechurch : *Sayle*.
 Lincolnshire : *Minns. See "St m-ford"*
 Liskeard : *Haverfield*.
 Little Canfield : *Round*.
 Littlehampton : *Johnston*.
 Liverpool : *Elton, Lumby*.
 Llandrinio : *Thomas*.
 Llantwit Major : *Davies, Halliday*.
 London : *Beeman, Bond, Browning, Brushfield, Cust, Fletcher, Hill, Kinns, Money, Reader, Savory, Taylor, Wash, Webb*.
 Lourdes : *Layard*.
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- Much Woolton: *Gladstone.*
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 Tumuli: *Jones.*
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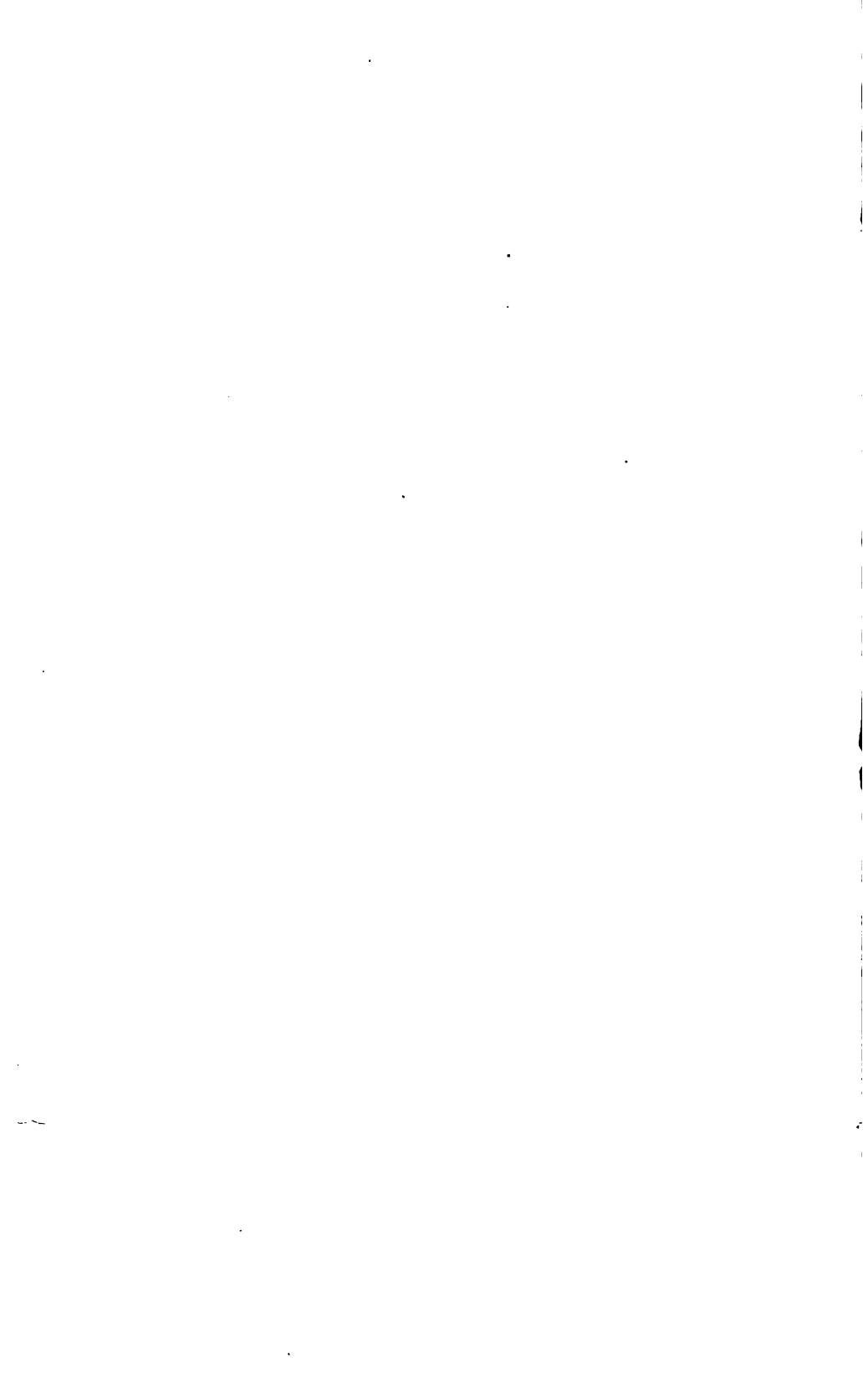
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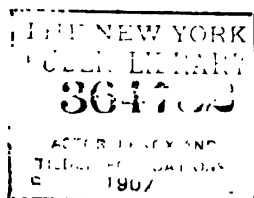
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INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XI.—1905.

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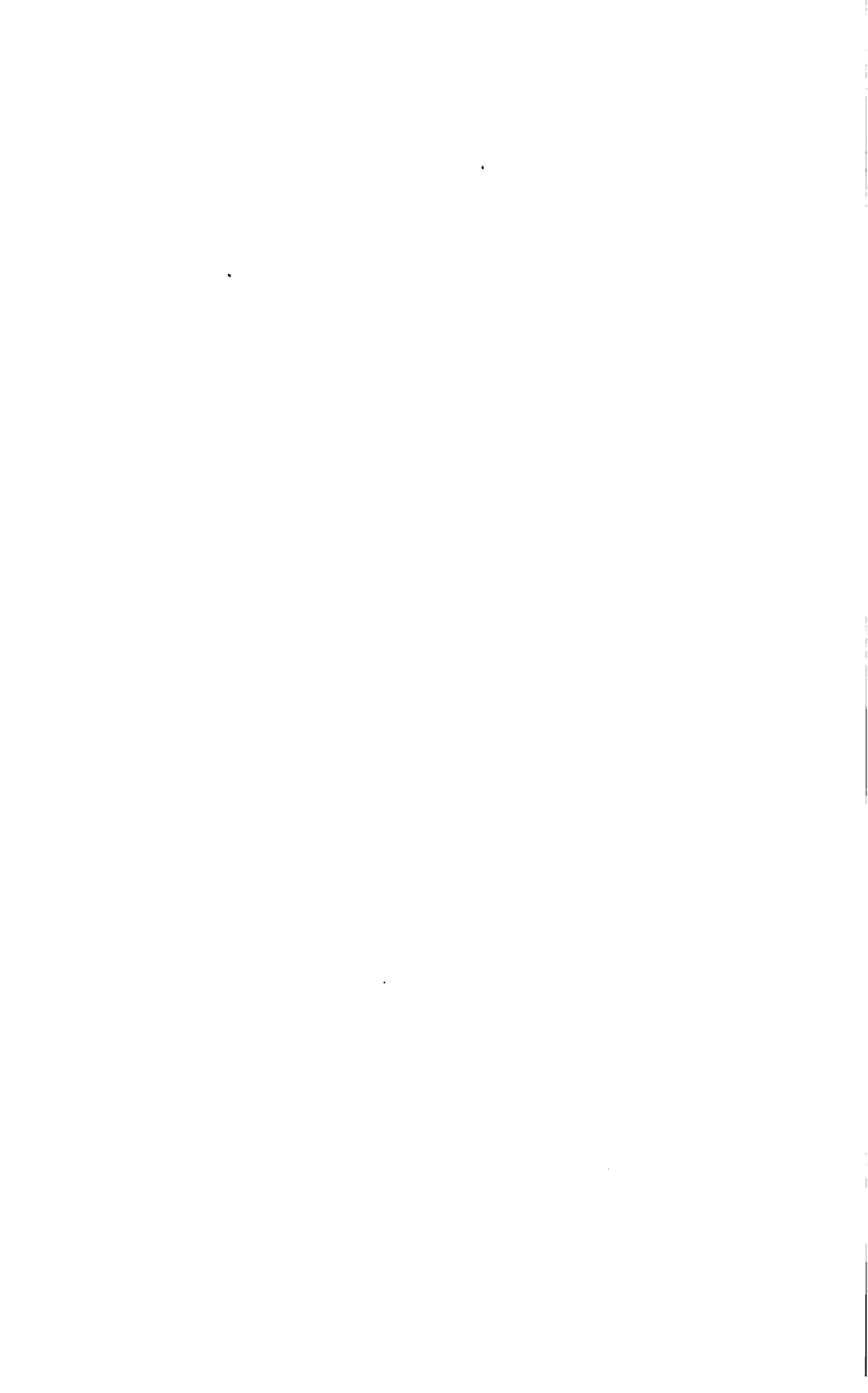
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PREFACE.

THE ELEVENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1905 contains the Inaugural Address and Papers read at the Bath Congress, and some which have been brought forward at the Evening Meetings in London. The thanks of the Association are due to the authors of these Papers, and especially to Mr. C. H. Talbot and Mr. Emmanuel Green, F.S.A., for their assistance in providing adequate illustrations.

Great regret will be felt over the loss which the Association has sustained by the death of Mr. Thomas Blashill, a former Vice-President and Treasurer, who had done so much good work for archæology.

The Congress at Reading proved highly successful, and enabled many members to make the acquaintance of one of the most interesting districts in England. Hearty thanks are due to Mr. Charles E. Keyser, F.S.A., the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., and a large number of ladies and gentlemen of Reading and Berkshire, for hospitality and assistance of the most warm-hearted and strenuous kind.

A revision of the rules of the Association is being considered by a Committee of the Council, and any amendments which they may suggest will come up for confirmation at the Annual General Meeting. The print of the Rules and List of Associates has therefore been withheld, so that such amendments, if any, may be included.

The number of Associates recently elected has been gratifying, but a larger membership is still required ; and it is of great importance that our ranks should include many comparatively young members, who will thus be brought into contact with archæologists of experience and reputation, and learn to carry on the traditions of the Association.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

APRIL, 1905.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By R. E. LEADER, B.A., PRESIDENT.

(Read at the Bath Congress, August 8th, 1904.)



SOME of my predecessors in this chair, especially in the earlier years of the Association's existence, thought it necessary to vindicate the importance of the study of antiquities. And they were well advised. For, remember how inadequate was the recognition of the dignity and utility of archæology when our Association began its career in 1843. At that time it was considered the hobby of a few men of leisure, not the concern of all, or an essential part of liberal culture. There are still some who ask what is the good of investigations like ours; who dismiss them as dry-as-dust idling; who make the enthusiasm of archæologists the subject of half-tolerant, half-contemptuous banter. These fail to recognise that archæology is the handmaid, nay, the basis, of history: the means of realising the conditions of life in the past, the evolution of nations, the development of peoples. The popular conception of history is still, too largely, that it consists

of the dates of the accession of kings and catalogues of battles. Happily, however, a new spirit has been awakened, and men's minds are turned rather to answering such questions as, Whence came we? What were our forefathers? What did they know? What forces went to a nation's making? Through what strains did peoples pass? What impediments did they overcome? What reverses did they endure? What triumphs did they achieve? The archæologist adduces the evidence from which history is written. To him, mere mounds of earth are books, heaps of stones eloquent with sermons. He makes dry bones to live, clothes them with flesh, and breathes into them new life. He reads in them the story of a people's growth, and finds in them the development of the great drama of human existence and progress. It has been well said by one of our Presidents that "as nothing is too high for history to grasp, so nothing which can aid or illustrate her teaching is below her dignity."

These things are now almost truisms, hardly needing enforcement in the truer perspective of to-day. But in this bustling age there may be still utilitarians who think archæological zeal a subject for banter, who make merry over antiquarians' mistakes—for they do sometimes make mistakes—and smile at the eagerness of their controversies. They do not realise, as an expert pores delightedly over some apparently trivial object, that it may furnish the clue to a new train of investigation, some missing link, sought for years, that completes a chain of evidence, or some gleam of light illuminating an obscure point. A newspaper paragraph recording the discovery of radium at Bath may arrest the interest of those who are indifferent to the city's history, and, with its suggestion of potentialities of wealth in the future, obliterate all thoughts of the past which make that future possible. We may occasionally hear the puerile sneer that archæology is but a subtle device for fostering pride, by showing how much better and cleverer than the ancients are the moderns. The contrary is the truth. One of the most marked tendencies of the discovery of past civilisations by excavations in Assyria, Egypt, Crete,

Asia Minor, Mexico, and South Africa is the revelation of arts, appliances, and inventions that put the modern explorer to the blush.

The sphere of our Association's activities is Great Britain only, but we claim to have helped to promote the spirit which has made possible many discoveries in other lands. It was a happy thought in the minds of the founders of this Association to establish annual provincial Congresses, and to get into touch, on the spot, with investigators in all parts of the country. The advantages are manifestly reciprocal. It is a privilege to your visitors to be permitted to enter into the traditions and ancient spirit of your locality, and to obtain the knowledge that comes from a personal examination of records and surroundings. On the other hand, there is the chance, haply, of helping in the elucidation of problems, of giving encouragement to archæological research, and of fostering that topographical appreciation which, after all, is the greatest incentive to the study and preservation of the legacies of the past. We certainly get stimulus from you ; may we hope to communicate stimulus to you ; and by comparing notes, by contrasting the teaching of different localities, to help in collating, systematising, classifying, fitting in scraps of evidence derived from various sources, reviewing conclusions, and guarding against drawing hasty inferences from insufficient data.

And while enjoying sociable intercourse with men of like pursuits, we may fain hope to enlist the attention of some who have not yet realised the importance and charm of the work in which we are engaged.

No one can glance at the contents of the sixty substantial volumes which record our Transactions since 1843 without realising how largely the Association has fulfilled the aspirations of its founders. Not in any sense as a rival to, but as the ally and feeder of the Society of Antiquaries, it has done much, in the words of its original prospectus, "to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments, of the history, manners, customs and arts of our forefathers."

It has made many contributions to archæological know-

ledge. It has printed Papers, illustrated objects and monuments, thrown light on manners, customs, arts, reflecting the mind and culture of the people, their social state, their domestic and public life, their language, their ancestry, their modes of thought, their conduct, their character.

It has done much to save from the ravages of time, and the worse ravages of "improvers" and restorers, ancient monuments and historic buildings. Since our meeting last year at Sheffield, Wincobank, an ancient encampment, has, through the generosity and public spirit of the Duke of Norfolk, been safeguarded against the engulfing tide of city expansion. And if we cannot claim that this is altogether owing to the initiative of the Association, we can at least say that help rendered at what, in cant phrase, is called the psychological moment, had no little influence in achieving the result.

Compare the present knowledge of and attitude towards ecclesiastical architecture with what obtained in 1843, and consider how much has been done to promote a spirit of jealous and reverent conservatism among experts, and to raise a new standard of taste in the public. Much irreparable mischief has been perpetrated in the sixty years, much grievous vandalism has been rampant; but infinitely more would have had to be regretted but for the influence exerted by this and kindred Associations.

More generally, it may be said that the Association has helped to diffuse archæological enthusiasm; has brought new investigators into the field; has aroused a taste for antiquities, and has encouraged the formation of county associations. Antiquarian research is no longer the possession of the few; it is widespread. It has its schools, and its chairs, and its endowments in the Universities. One hears of some rudiments, at least, being taught in elementary schools. There is good reason to hope that before long the University of London will grant a degree in Archæology.

Our Association has held its Congresses in all parts of the country. Beginning with Canterbury, it has been to almost all the cathedral cities, to many historic towns,

and to others which are the centres of districts full of antiquarian interest. It has not neglected the great manufacturing towns which, as wrapped up in the concerns of business life, need, perhaps more than reposeful places, reminders of the claims of the past. It is forty-eight years since the Association, then young, was in Bath, or, rather Somersetshire, for only two days were spared by a Congress, of which Bridgewater was the headquarters, for this city. I presume that in this may be found, not any want of respect to the antiquities of Bath, but a feeling that your city, rich in its local inquiries, was less in need of missionary effort than many others. At least, I thought so until to-day, notwithstanding the story of the Alderman—which may or may not be well-founded—who is said to have had the heads knocked off the angels on Jacob's Ladder on the west front of the Abbey, because one of the heads had fallen in his august presence. We visited the Abbey church this afternoon, admiring its architectural proportions, but—I hope I am not offending the susceptibilities of any of our Bath friends—one cannot help regretting that even in Bath, with its cultured and educated people, it has been possible to mutilate and deface the beautiful church by cutting its piers for the insertion of vulgar iron girders in the support of an obtrusive organ. As we were successful in Sheffield last year in saving an ancient monument from possible destruction, it would be, I am sure, very gratifying indeed to members of this Association if any words from the presidential chair would help to remove from the Abbey church the disfiguring erection, which must be regarded as an eyesore by the inhabitants of Bath, as it is by architectural purists. Bath has been exceptional, and is still exceptional, not only for the antiquities it possesses, but for the men who have devoted a large part of their lives to the study and elucidation of its antiquities. You have almost a literature of your own relating to Bath archæology. I might, perhaps, mention for the benefit of the Association one or two of the valuable books which you have. There are Warner's *History of Bath*, Wright's *Historic Guide*, Wood's *Description*, Mainwaring's *Annals*, Earle's *Ancient and*

Modern Bath, Davis's *Ancient Landmarks*, Prebendary Scarth's *Notices of Roman Bath*, Peach's *Historic Houses*, *Original Bath Guide*, *New Bath Guide*, *Old Bath Guide*; and treatises on Bath waters by the score. You have the *History of the Bath Stage*, you have your *Municipal Records* (which I am glad to find have been published by Messrs. King and Watts), and Bath has besides the good fortune to possess what many other cities envy, files of those valuable sources of information—newspapers, going far back into the eighteenth century. In the *Transactions* of archæological and other societies are numberless articles relating to the city and its neighbourhood.

The pages of our own *Journal* are enriched with Papers contributed by your learned antiquarians when the Association was here nearly half a century ago. Then Prebendary Scarth discoursed on "Roman Antiquities and Ancient Earthworks;" Dr. Markland dealt more generally with the history and antiquities; Mr. C. E. Davis with the churches, while others added further information on various details. With all this wealth of information at your doors—far more familiar to you than to strangers—we, manifestly, are here as learners: as the seekers not the dispensers of information. Scattered throughout English literature, in memoirs and gossip, diaries, reminiscences, biographies, and novels are many graphic pictures of the social and fashionable life of Bath. The only justification for attempting to add a few crumbs to the rich repast is, that some records which recently came into my hands have never been published; and though they tell the students of Bath life nothing that is new, they are not perhaps without their value in helping us to realise the doings in your city at the time when Beau Nash had made himself the controller of its destinies, and was, I suppose, at the height of his power. The housekeeper's accounts of the Howards of Worksop Manor contain payments made in connection with visits to Bath by Lady Mary Howard in 1732 and 1733. They show what a costly and elaborate pilgrimage was involved, when a noble family journeyed to take the waters in the fashionable city. Before starting, large provision of gay garments had to be made—French gowns, lace,

and the rest. Remembering the greater value of money at the period, very considerable expenditure is implied in such items as £91 2s. 9d. for "linnen, lace, etc.;" £42 10s. for lace for Lady Fanny Shirley; and £15 for linen for Mr. Southcote. There was paid £4 12s. 9d. for habit-making and trimming; £4 4s. for a pair of lace ruffles; £3 16s. for stockings, and so forth. There were twelve horses on the road, costing £6 7s. 10d.; eating on the road, £15 9s. 8d.; servants' drink on the road, £1 8s. And, arrived at the destination, expenditure was on the scale of a large establishment. Lodgings were not unreasonably high—£6 or £7 a week; but "caterer's bill, wine and beer included," amounted to £16 or £19 a week; and when, on a second visit, the family took its own servants, the cook's bills were on an equally large scale, with some £80 for six weeks' butlers' bills. From September 19th to December 29th, 1733, there was spent £367 2s. 10d. For the shops of the Bath tradesmen were alluring—£7 7s. for a ring; £1 1s. for two canes; £1 11s. for a buckle, and £7 7s. for an "arcelni" (whatever that may be); with toys for the children, £1 3s., and playthings, £2 1s. The apothecary had, of course, to be consulted, with fees to the tune of £14 2s. 9d.; there was £1 "given at going into the bath;" £9 14s. for the "pump-room, great rooms, and housemaids;" and there were subscriptions to balls, raffles, collections for the poor. The account-keeper was quite frank: "Lost at cards, £2 12s. 6d.; lost more, £7 7s. 6d."

To narrate these things here is the familiar process of bringing coals to Newcastle, for one feels that what the inhabitants and antiquarians of Bath do not know about their city is not worth knowing.

May I point out, what is perhaps less obvious, that there is a certain undesigned appropriateness in Bath being chosen for our Autumnal Congress, in succession to our last year's visit to Sheffield? For, utterly dissimilar as are the two cities in the part they play in the nation's life, there are certain points of contact between the two of no little interest. The first book of importance printed in Sheffield was a substantial quarto, part of a learned discourse on the "History and Nature of Mineral Waters,"

written by a Sheffield physician, Dr. Thomas Short. If the association thereby established is remote and slight, a far more intimate connection lies in the fact that the two cities have a joint share in the careers of two remarkable men, John Arthur Roebuck and the Rev. Joseph Hunter. Sheffield gave Mr. Hunter to Bath, and Bath gave Mr. Roebuck to Sheffield. Both came of Sheffield families, both married Bath ladies; and Mr. Roebuck, while paternally descended from Sheffield, was, on his mother's side, the great-grandson of a man famous in the musical annals of Bath, Dr. Linley, one of whose beautiful daughters married Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Her sister, becoming the wife of Richard Tickell, was Mr. Roebuck's grandmother. Mr. Roebuck's association with both Bath and Sheffield was, however, in a sphere outside the range of archæological inquiry. When, some years ago, the duty was imposed on me of writing his life, I realised very forcibly that, beneath its air of aristocratic repose, Bath shares with less polished communities those human passions which find vivid expression in times of political stress and strain. With the moving scenes enacted in your city between 1832 and 1836 we are not concerned to night. The name of Mr. Hunter, on the other hand, recalls memories far more germane to our purpose, and in consonance with the studious repose of the pursuit we are met to promote. Abandoning Sheffield trade after he had passed through an apprenticeship, and had qualified as a Freeman of the Cutlers' Company, Mr. Hunter studied theology, and became, in 1809, the minister of Trim Street Chapel, Bath. It was here that he wrote his *History of Hallamshire*, his greater *South Yorkshire*, and his *Hallamshire Glossary*. And while thus entitling himself to the undying gratitude of his native town, his antiquarian zeal was exerted in stimulating archæological inquiry in the city of his adoption. He was one of the founders of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, and a member of the "Stourhead Circle," a company of gentlemen who met periodically to compare notes on their researches. To him, with others of like mind, may be attributed the fact that Somersetshire is honourably distinguished as an early pioneer in

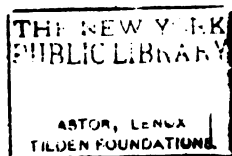
the formation of those county archæological societies, which it has been part of the privilege of the British Archæological Association to foster. Mr. Hunter was as active with his pen as with his personal influence. In a Paper read before the Literary Institution on "The Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England," he gives a luminous sketch of the early history of Bath. He contributed largely to various publications on such subjects as the antiquities of Bath, and with characteristic accuracy he made a MS. catalogue of Roman inscriptions found here, destined to be very helpful to subsequent inquirers.

Mr. Hunter's investigations and interests were confined within no narrow limits. While still in Bath he published sermons; discussed in a Dissertation the authorship of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; illuminated the *Life of Sir Thomas More* by his great genealogical and topographical knowledge; and edited Ralph Moresby's *Diary and Letters*. His removal to London in the congenial capacity of Assistant to the Commissioners of Public Records marked the beginning of a period of increased literary and antiquarian activity. Besides the numerous books and publications, he left behind a large mass of MSS. happily available to the inquirer. There are few better-thumbed volumes in the British Museum than the *Familia Minorum Gentium*, printed by the Harleian Society from the thick folio of pedigrees laboriously compiled by Mr. Hunter. The care and accuracy which characterise his work make him a model for all who follow him; and Somersetshire and Yorkshire are entitled to be jointly proud of so distinguished an archæologist and of so excellent a man. In the venerable Dr. Henry Julian Hunter, his son, still among them, the citizens of Bath retain a living link with one who so usefully employed a quarter of a century spent in their midst. And at Sheffield the present Master Cutler is the third Michael Hunter, who, filling that office, continues the name and the family of the Rev. Joseph Hunter's father.

Mr. Mayor, I am sure the British Archæological Association learns with the greatest interest and satisfaction of the efforts which your municipality is making in

furtherance of the interests of archæology. Since the days to which I have been referring, since the time when our Association was here before, you have, I believe, made many interesting discoveries, not only in connection with the Roman baths, but of other antiquities, and I am told you have a band of indefatigable workers still labouring to reveal more of the past and elucidate its teachings. The action of the Corporation in placing memorial tablets on houses where resided great men of the past is worthy of all praise, as is also Mr. Cotterell's "Bath Historic Map." On your behalf I welcome to the Congress Professor Hamelius, of the Brussels Archæological Association; and, in conclusion, I would again express the thanks of the Association for the welcome which has been given to it.







A VIEW IN THE DYFFRYN VALLEY.

Showing Ty'n-y-ffern and Galt-y-Cwm just above it. The Ffrwdwyllt River on the left.



NOTES ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY. ✓

By THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., V.D., J.P., M.Inst. C.E.

(Continued from page 181, vol. liz)

PART II.

HAFODHEULOG.



IMUST now take you to where the sun is stronger, by reason of our having lingered so long at Hafod, and we come to the sunny summer abode, for that is the meaning of Hafodheulog: *hafod*, summer abode; *heulog*, sunny. The first grant of the land of Hafodheulog is found in an imperfect charter (*T.* 289 (2); *C.* DCCXVI) by Kenwreic, son of Herbert, sworn upon the *Sanctuarium* of Margam Abbey Church. Helias, Dean of Newcastle, Bridgend, was one of the witnesses; he occurs at the end of the twelfth century. The next deed referring to Hafodheulog is a quit-claim (*T.* 117; *C.* DCLXXXIX) by Philip, the priest of Havod-haloc, and John his nephew, to Margam Abbey, of the chapel of Havodhaloc. This deed was ratified in the presence of Nicholas, treasurer of Llandaff Cathedral; Ivor, canon; Adam, priest; Robert Samsonis.¹ This was confirmed by Bishop Henry² to Margam, by deed addressed to the clergy and laity of the diocese, and enrolled (*T.* 543, 10; *C.* MCCCCXXVII), assuring the land of Haudhaloc and Rossaulin (Resolven, Vale of Neath) and their respective chapels, with anathema against those who resist. Half a mile to the north, a

¹ Cf. *Harley Charters* 75A., A.D. 1217.

² A.D. 1196 to 1218.

little east of north, are marked on the Ordnance Map the remains of Capel Trisant, Church or Chapel of the Three Saints. This chapel, it seems to me, was the chapel of Hafodheulog, on the lands of the Grange, but a little way off for the convenience of other granges or farms near by.

Three Bulls were issued by Pope Innocent III, in A.D. 1203 (*T.* 82; *C.* DCCXLV), directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first pointing out the frequency of injuries done and the daily failure of justice due to the Abbot and Brethren of Margam, and detailing the various modes of punishment to the wrongdoers. The leaden Bulla of the Pope is appended by strands of green and yellow silk. It is endorsed "*Innocentius III^{us}. Non absque dolore De Margan;*" and in a later hand, "*A prohibition to wronge the Howse of Morgan,*" dated at Anagni, Nov. 10th, A.D. 1203. The second (*T.* 84; *C.* DCCXLVI) followed the above Bull in a few days, directed as before, and confirming the apostolic privileges of Margam Abbey, granted by his predecessors in respect to exemption from payment of tithes, of the labours performed by the hands or acquired by the money of the Abbey, or the food of their beasts, and forbidding any infringement thereof by some who interpret as relating to crops what is written of labours, under penalty of excommunication; and further, he who lays violent hands on any of the brethren is to be publicly excommunicated *accensis candelis*, with lighted candles, until he makes proper satisfaction, and presents himself before the Pope with letters of the Bishop of the diocese in explanation of the truth of the matter.¹ Dated at Anagni, 20 Nov., A.D. 1203.

The third Bull (*T.* 83; *C.* DCCXLVII) is addressed to Gilbert, Abbot of Margam, and takes the Abbey of St. Mary under the protection of St. Peter and his own, enjoining their perpetual possession of the goods and property of the Abbey. Then follows a list of all the lands, and in the list we find the land of Havedhaloc, with all its appurtenances. After that follow sundry privileges and injunctions. A charter of King John confirms the various grants made to the Abbey, and one is

¹ Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*.

the grant of Morgan, son of Oein, in Havedhaloch, between Kenefeg and Baithan, that is, land to the east and north-east of the Kenfig River and west of the River Baiden.¹

The grant by Morgan, son of Oein or Owen (*T.* 120; *C.* DCCLIII) cannot be earlier than A.D. 1214, and is of the whole land of Havedhalok, between the waters of Kenefeg and Baithan, towards the mountains to the cross near the highway, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings, with undertaking of the grantor to perform certain services. Pledged and sworn on the *Sacrosancta* of Margam Church. One of the witnesses is D. Gervase, Bishop of St. David's."²

T. 122 (*C.* DCCCLXIII) seems to have been found necessary as a pendant to the deed above mentioned. It is a quit-claim by Madok, son of Resus, to Margam Abbey, of the land of Heved-Halok, in accordance with the terms of Morgan ab Oweyn's charter. And he will be faithful to the House of Margam, and will defend its property and cattle as if they were his own; this he swears on the *Sanctuaría* of Margam; given under the seal of Morgan ab Oweyn, because he has no seal. The witnesses are Morgan, son of Owein; Maurice, priest of St. Cadoc; Maurice, parson of St. Julita, and others. Morgan ab Owein's seal, an ornamental fleur-de-lis:—³

✠ S'MORGANI . AB . OEIN.

The buildings at Hafodheulog are all modern, having been built fifty-five years ago. Mrs. David, the tenant's wife, told me that when they were taking the old buildings down they found, under the plaster of ages, carved on the wall the figure of a man: this was in the part used then as a dairy.

Hafod-heulog is prettily situated 500 yards to the west of the Kenfig river. North of it opens out the Kenfig valley, up which, 2½ miles off, is the source of the river, which rises near the Bodvoc stone. The mountains rise rapidly, and half-way to the Bodvoc stone,

¹ Baiden, a little, lively, sparkling brook.

² Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, A.D. 1214 to 1229.

³ Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*. In this Deed Owen is spelled Oweyn and Owein.

Moel Ton Mawr rises to a height of 1,000 ft. on the west of the valley. Near the source of the Kenfig river, a line of intrenchments is crossed by the river. It runs from a point west of Moel Ton Mawr,¹ in a north-easterly direction, for almost two miles, having a camp at either end, and a little north and east of the centre of the line is a Roman halting-camp; a mile or so further west-south-west is another camp close to Margam Castle. These intrenchments appear to me to have been constructed to bar the way eastward of a force coming up the Cwm Philip Valley behind the Abbey, or to protect a force coming up the valley from the lowlands on to the high ground towards Bodvoc's grave, from hostile forces attacking it from the east or hill country. South of Hafod-heulog rises a ridge, Cefn Cribwr,² or La Rigge³ in the *Margam MSS.* This ridge runs east and west, and rises to a height of 400 ft above sea level. The ridge is composed of the conglomerates and shales of the millstone grit underlying the coal measures. On the west end of the ridge is a British camp, referred to in a grant of land by Gunnilda, wife of Roger Sturmi, to Margam Abbey, as the old castle—*vetus castellum*. West of Hafod-heulog is what I think must be the part called La Wareth Moor, and it still is in part a moor. La Wareth, so called from Llywarch, son of Meredydd or, as sometimes written, Meruit; we have Gwaun Llywarch at Trisant.

Half a mile south of Hafod-heulog is Pentre,⁴ a farm mentioned in the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel. Near by it are the slight traces of the Capel Trisant. There are several houses and farms clustered about this spot: Ty'n-yr-heol,⁵ Pen-y-bryn,⁶ Nant-y-Neuadd,⁷ Troed-y-

¹ Moel Ton Mawr. The Great green-sward Hill; a bald rounded hill, i.e., not wooded.

² Cefn Cribwr. Cefn—a ridge; Cribwr probably a corruption of Cribaith—a hold hill ridge, or brink of the bold hill.

³ La Rigge. A corruption of ridge, probably.

⁴ Pentre. A village or hamlet; a corruption of Pentrev.

⁵ Ty'n-yr-heol. A house in the road.

⁶ Pen-y-bryn. The top of the hill.

⁷ Nant-y-neuadd. The dingle or brook of the hall.

rhiw,¹ Cwm Trisant,² Pant-ysgawen,³ Ty Fry,⁴ Ton Owen,⁵ Trallwyn,⁶ Fynon-Iago-fawr,⁷ and Fynon-Iago-fach.⁸ It seems to me the Capel Trisant may have been the chapel of Hafod-heulog, which, as I have said, is just half a mile south of it. Ffynon-Iago is near Ffynon-Iago-fawr farm, and no doubt is so named after St. James, thus indicating one of the three Saints to whom the chapel was dedicated. Then we have Ton Philip and Cwm Philip in the neighbourhood, also a valley called Cwm Maelwg, so it may be the third saint is St. Maelwg. About a mile west-south-west from Hafod-heulog is the farm Longland, referred to in the *Margam MSS.* This farm is some 400 yards west of the Kenfig river, and is about 120 ft. above sea-level.

The Kenfig valley brings to our notice an interesting case. The Abbot of Margam held all his lands of the County of Cardiff in chief, as is shown by the report of an inquiry at the County Court of Glamorgan (*T.* 389; *C.* MLVII), Monday before St. Lawrence's Day, A.D. 1299, before D. Symon de Raleye, Sheriff of Glamorgan, and the Earl's Council. It sets forth that whereas the Abbot of Margam holds all his lands of Cardiff County in chief, and the "famulus," or clerk, of the said County alone performing the duty of coroner in the Abbot's lands, Traharn Du (Black Traherne), Bedell of Tyriarthe (Tiri-arll, the Earl's land) had by usurpation held a coroner's inquest on the body of Philip Sparke, who met his death

¹ Troed-y-rhiw. Foot of the steep path or road up the hill.

² Cwm Trisant. The Dingle of the Three Saints, probably S.S. Philip, James, and Michael. We obtain two of the names of the Saints from Cwm Philip, and Ton Philip, and Ffynon Iago—St. James's Well. There is Heol Fadog and Nant Fadog—Madoc's road and Madoc's brook or dingle, so the third Saint may be St. Madoc or St. Michael, as we have Llanmihangel—the church of St. Michael—not far away.

³ Pant-ysgawen. The hollow of the alder tree.

⁴ Ty-fry. The house high up on the mountain. Ty—house; and fry—very high.

⁵ Ton Owen. Owen's rounded hill, covered with sward, but no trees; probably so called after Owein, father of Morgan, a son or brother of Morgan ap Caradoc, who gave Hafod-heulog to the monks.

⁶ Trallwyn. Trallwng is the correct spelling. A quagmire or bog.

⁷ and ⁸. Ffynon-Iago-fawr and fach. St. James's Well—large and small.

in Cwm Kenefeg, to the prejudice of the liberty of the county, therefore the said Traharn shall be imprisoned.

Abbot William (Corntoun) leased for their lives (*T.* 268 ; *C.* MCCLXXXVII) the reversion of the Grange of Hafod-heulog—Havothaloke, as the scribe in the monastery thought it should be spelled—to John ap Thomas ap Richard and Richard ap Thomas ap Richard (probably brothers) after the decease of Thomas ap Richard (the father), as the said Thomas and Richard ap Jevan ap Howell held it, and the reversion of the tithes, the lessees to maintain all buildings, ditches and fences at their own cost. They may build a fulling-mill on the fee of the grange, for which they are to pay a rent of two shillings yearly. Dated in the Chapter House, Margam Monastery, 2 Richard III, A.D. 1484.

The first donor of land belonging to this Grange was Kenewreic, son of Herbert (*T.* 289, 2 ; *C.* DCCXVI), and this land was probably that on the west of the river Kenfig, and on which the Grange buildings stood. The grant by Morgan, son of Owen (*T.* 120 ; *C.* DCCLIII), of the whole land of Havedhalok between the waters of Kenefeg and Baithan, towards the mountains to the cross near the highway, refers to the land east of the Kenfig, between it and the Baiden river. The rent, 20s. annually, with undertaking of the grantor to perform services. Sworn on the *Sanctuarium* of Margam.¹ Among others, this deed is witnessed by D. Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, in whose presence the grant was made, and whose seal is appended : Martin, Archdeacon of St. David's, Master Mathias of Brechen (Brecknock), Master H. D. Cluna (Hugh de Cluna, afterwards Archdeacon of St. David's, 1222), Master William de Capella, Henry de Umfrauille ; Reimund de Sulie, William de Sumery, and others.

Dr. Birch says this Morgan was either the son of Owein, brother of Morgan ap Caradoc, or of Owen, son of Morgan ap Caradoc. It was Morgan ap Caradoc who guided Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis across the marsh of Avan, on their way to Swansea, preaching the

¹ Endorsed : "Carta Morgian filii Owein de Hefedhaloch." This grant was confirmed by King John, A.D. 1205.

crusade, in 1188 A.D. He was descended from Iestyn ap Gwrgan, and was the founder of the family of de Avenes—Dauene = d'Avene; Lords of Afan.

Owen agreed to reduce the rent of 20s. for Hafodheulog, in consequence of the vast amount of damage he had done to the Abbey, to 2s. (*T.* 140; *C.* DCCCCXXV), with penalty of excommunication by the Bishop of Llandaff in case of his breaking the agreement, and power to the Earl of Gloucester's bailiffs of Neth (Neath) and Landtrissen (Llantrisant) Castles to enforce performance.

Near Hafod-heulog is a farm named in the *Margam MSS.* Havoth-duga, Havod-y-dyga. It is, no doubt, Hafod-decaf, *the fairest summer abode*. So we have Hafod, *the summer abode*; Hafod-heulog, *the sunny summer abode*; and Hafod-decaf, *the fairest summer abode*.

LLANMIHANGEL, OR ST. MICHAEL'S GRANGE.

This Grange is situated close to the Kenfig River, in a bend made by the river, which, after running south south-west, turns and runs nearly due north, so that seen from the train the river appears to be running from the sea, as if it were too coy to go straight on to it. The Grange is 50 ft. above datum line, and from it to the sea is two and a-half miles; about a mile west of the Grange is Fitz-Hamon's Castle, and near by, the site of the ancient town of Kenfig. Leland the antiquary, who visited these parts in A.D. 1540, in his *Itinerary* writes: "From Newton to Kenfike Ryver a vi miles. Of these vi miles 3 be hygh cliffes on the shore, the other low shore and sandy ground. For the Rages of Severn Se casteth ther up much sand Kenfike is a small Broke and cummith by estimation not past a 3 miles of out of the Mores thereabout." Do not inquire too closely into John Leland's estimated distances, for in truth they are as faulty as is his spelling. I will just give one instance of his distances "by estimation." Kenfig River is about eight miles in length from its source—high up on Margam mountain (1,100 ft. above datum line), quite close to Bodvoc's grave—to the sea, Leland says three miles.

Old Kenfig town had, long before his visit, been overwhelmed with sand, and Leland writes of the new town thus: "There is a little village on the Est side of Kenfik, and a castel, both in ruine and almost shokid and devourid with the sandes that the Severn Se casteth up." Kenfig River being the parish boundary, I must say no more of Kenfig and the Margam Grange there, in this Part, but leave it for another paper, except as to the fishing, which of course is partly in Margam.

Three Papal Bulls are again addressed by Pope Alexander IV, each following closely upon the other in the year AD. 1261: First, to the Abbot of Citeaux and all the Abbots of the Cistercian Order, confirming the privilege that no one may summon them or the persons of their monasteries to synods or foreign assemblies, except in matter of faith, without permission of the Apostolic See (*T.* 173; *C.* DCCCCLXXIX), with leaden Bulla of the Pope, dated Lateran, 9 Jan., A.D. 1261.

The second (*T.* 174; *C.* DCCCCLXXX) is very similar to the above, dated Lateran, 15 Feb., A.D. 1261. The third (*T.* 171; 293, 27; *C.* DCCCCLXXXI) is addressed to the Abbot of Margam, and begins by receiving the Abbey of St. Mary into the protection of St. Peter and his own, and confirms to the Abbey the gifts and grants made to it by various benefactors, and names among the other lands and farms the Grange of St. Michael. The leaden Bulla still remains appended to this charter. Dated, 3 March, A.D. 1261.

There are comparatively few references or deeds relating to St. Michael's Grange, and St. Michael's Mill, near by, on the Kenfig River. The Cistercian Order seldom came into contact with the secular Courts, and one of the few instances in which it was done occurs in connection with St. Michael's Grange.

The proceedings at the Glamorgan County Court, before Gilbert de Ellesfeld, Sheriff of Glamorgan, are recorded (*T.* 229; *C.* MCLXXXII), and whereat Brother John was indicted for robbing David de Gower of fifteenpence at the Borwes (burrows or sand-dunes); and Brother Meuric, of St. Michael's Grange, for giving money and food to John ap Griffith and Rees ap Griffith, felons

and outlaws ; but the accused say they are brethren and *conversi* (lay brethren) of the Abbey of Morgan, and therefore they ought to appear before their own ordinaries ; it is asked of them if they are clerks ordained, and if they know how to read, and a book is given to them, for proof that they declare themselves professed religious, i.e., monks, and are not bound to answer. And thereupon came Master David ap Rees, clerk by virtue of the Bishop of Llandaff's commission, to him, and caused the accused to be delivered to him for trial in an Ecclesiastical Court. But the Sheriff and the said Master David disputed whether the delinquents were professed, and so entitled to their privilege of clergy. Eventually the Sheriff admitted the plea, and made inquest whether they (Brothers John and Meuric) were guilty or not, so as to deliver them up to the said David : they were tried, found not guilty, and released. Cardiff, 26 May, 32 Edw. III, A.D. 1358.

Fine impression of the Seal of Cardiff Chancery, green wax, chipped, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam.

Obverse: an armed knight, with hauberk, sword, helmet, crested with a griffin's head and wings, erect, and shield of arms ; riding to the right on a horse caparisoned with the same arms.

SIGILLUM : EDWARDI : LE : DESPENSER AMORGAN :
Z : MORG .

Reverse : a shield of the same arms, slung by the guige, upon a forked tree, within an elaborately-traced bilobe or panel of cusped Gothic openwork.

SIGILLUM : CANCEL (LARIE).....DE : KAIRDIF.

Endorsed : *Inquisicio pro feloniciis.*

The rivers Afan and Kenfig were good salmon and sewin rivers—and indeed were until recent years, when works were established in the valleys and spoiled them. There were constant disputes about the fishing, and in A.D. 1365 we find the record of a mandate (T. 231 ; C. MCLXXXVII) by the Rector of Coytif and the Rural Dean of Gronyth (Groneath), special commissioners to Thomas Louel, Clerk, to cite John Philip of Kenefeg, Rees ap

Griff' Gethyn of Avene (Aberavan), Hoel ap Griff Hagur, and others, to appear before the commissaries in answer to a charge of unlawful fishing in Kenefeeg is Poil' and in the Avene, brought against them by Margam Abbey, on pain of excommunication. Dated, Coytif, 2 Nov., A.D. 1365. They appeared, and the proceedings take the form of a record (*T.* 232; *C.* MCLXXXVIII) of a process before the Dean of Gronyth, in the Church of Kenefeeg, in the case between the Abbot and Rees ap Griff' Gethyn, and others, concerning the taking of fish in the Avene by the said Rees and the others: wherein the said Rees confesses that he took fish in the water and fishery of Avene, and said that he had taken them justly. He was ordered to prove his right on the following Monday at Newcastle Church (Bridgend). John Philpot and the other confess to having fished in the water and fishery of Kenfig and Avene, and are left to the grace and absolution of the Abbot. Eventually, at Kenfig, Rees delivered in his defence that his ancestors had forfeited their jurisdiction in their Courts, and the Abbot exhibited deeds of appropriation, confirmation, and agreement to prove their right. Then Rees admitted that after Robert Fitzhaymon had conquered the hereditary land of him (Rees), and others, with the water and fishery in dispute two hundred and seventeen years past, he, the said Robert, gave the said fishery to Margam Abbey in recompense for injuries it had received at the hands of his (Rees') ancestors. 6 Nov., A.D. 1365.

Subsequently (*T.* 233; *C.* MCXC), at an Assize at Novel-dissein, before a jury of twelve, in the Glamorgan County Court at Cardiff, before Sir Edward de Stratelyng, Knt. (le Esterling), Sheriff of Glamorgan and Morgan, John Abbot of Margam recovers forty shillings damages and his fishery of salmons, gillyngs, suwyngs, and other fish in the water of Avene, from the head thereof to the place where it goes into the sea (the fishery is worth £10 yearly), against Rees, son of Griffin Gethyn, and Howel, son of Griffin Hagur, each of whom

¹ Kenefeeg is Poil in the deed = Kenfig Pool. The pool is not connected with the river, and is surrounded by high ground and sand-dunes, and has no visible outlet.

is fined 3*d.* damages. Monday before Midsummer Day, A.D. 1366.

Some of the land near, and no doubt belonging to the Grange of St. Michael, was given by members of the Gramus family. A somewhat interesting deed in the *Harley Charter*, 75 C. 7 (*T.* 289, 40; C. DCCCCXX), is a quit-claim by Roger Gramus to the monks of Margam, of a rent of half a silver mark yearly rent, due by them to him, paying a yearly recognisance of a pair of white gloves, or 1*d.* at Easter, and to his wife, Agnes, a prebend yearly for her support, viz., she is to have every week seven conventual loaves and five gallons of beer from the Convent; a crannoc¹ of gruellum (meal), the same amount of beans, and a bushel of salt, once yearly at Michaelmas. Dated, Midsummer Day, A.D. 1245.

St. Michael's Mill lies just to the south of the Grange, on the Margam side of the Kenfig river. The buildings are comparatively new.

In the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, we find included with the site of the late dissolved Abbey, the church, bell-tower, the fishery in the water of the Avene, various granges and lands—"St. Michael's Grange." The sum was £938 6*s.* 8*d.*, a sum equal in our days to over £9,000. All to be held as the last Abbot Lodowicus Thomas held them, for the twentieth part of a knight's fee.

And in the Crown Sale (*T.* 366; C. MCCCLX) for £678 1*s.* 6*d.*, also to Sir Rice Maunxell, Knight, we find included with various manors and lands, "Seynt Mychaelles Mille, in the parish of Margam." The sum paid is equal to £6,700 in our days.

The Great Seal of King Henry VIII, in bronze-green wax, is still appended to the documents, by green and white silk strands. The first document is dated 22 June, 32 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1540.

T. 227; C. MCLXVIII. This a quit-claim by William de Marle to Margam Abbey, of pasture for oxen, cows, and other beasts in the Grange of Saint Michael, which "ex quadam animi levitate" he had once claimed, as if he had

¹ Cranock—10 bushels.

any right therein; he is, however, "now moved by the spirit of truth," "noveritis me spiritu ductum veritatis."

Margam, Midsummer Day, A.D. 1344.

Llan-nihangel. The "mi-bangel" stands for Mich-angel, like the French Michel Ange. Haf Bach Mihangel corresponds to St. Luke's Little Summer, October 18th. The festival is Gwyl Fihangel; note the mutation so frequent in Welsh, "m" into "f." St. Michael's Mill was let to tenants. An extract from the Court of Abbot John at Kenfig (*T.* 284: *C.* MCCCXXVIII), whereby Thomas ap David ap Hoell, John ap Thomas, David ap Hoell, and John ap John, his son, are admitted tenants in the water-mill called "Seynt Mizchell is Mylle," rent, 40s., and court suit, two capons or 4*d.* for entry. Before Sir Mathew Cradock, Knight, Steward, 15th October, A.D. 1527.

It is much to be regretted that no record of any kind has been kept of the old Granges' buildings; all have been rebuilt except part of the Court farm and the new Grange (in ruins), and Theodoric's Grange (in ruins). At Hafod, I found a part of a window-jamb in Sutton stone—the stone used so much by mediæval builders in these parts. It is soft when freshly quarried, and hardens by time, and is a nice creamy white in colour. A former tenant of Hafod informed me of a stone which is there, and which has a hole through it; he believed, he said to me, it was used for some devilish practices of the Catholics! It is, no doubt, the stone which was attached to the piscina—a drain-pipe.

I was surprised to see, so far from the Abbey ruins, or quarry, as it was for years, at Farteg farm, north of Hafod, many dressed Sutton stones in its walls. It occurred to me they never would cart these stones from the Abbey so many miles, and up such steep roads, and that they must have been brought from the chapel of Hafod when it was demolished.

There are two ways of reaching the sleepy hollow in which lies this Grange with its noble barn: a barn so high and long that one thinks, a little way off, it is the nave of a church. One way is from the turnpike road at

Pyle, turning off at right angles, and where you come to a round-headed stone inscribed with a cross of equal arms, 12 or 13 ins. long¹—it now marks the Parliamentary boundary—you turn off into a narrow lane, and pass through the mill-yard (St. Michael's Mill), and on again through a lane, and, as I say, the first sight of the great high barn strikes you as being a church. "Hen ysgubor," it is called—"the old barn." The tenant told me it had been a tithe-barn. The other is along the Roman road, and across the sands, but it is a terribly bad one.

The barn is on higher ground than the house itself. It is 109 ft. in length, 31 ft. in width, and 18 ft. 6 in. in height to the eaves. The whole barn inside is plastered to the ceiling; the openings for air and light are widely splayed inwards, with dressed Quarella stone-work, shaped to the splay, similar to those in the centre dormer window of the Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage.² Two great doorways open opposite each other in the centre of the building, and these are spurred at each side. The whole building has the lower part of the side walls spurred out towards the base; the only other building I know of in Margam having this strengthening at the base is the New Grange, now known as the Old Pine End—"Hen Biniwn." The barn was covered with tile-stones, but the roof fell in recently, the weight, coupled with the rotting of the timber-work, probably caused the collapse.

The farmhouse is interesting, and, so far as I can judge, may well be of late Abbey times.¹ The ceiling and bedroom floors are supported on massive oak beams. Each window has a square label, which is hollowed; the jambs and mullions are stone.³ The large boiler in the yard is in a peculiar recess in the kitchen wall. This recess has jambs in stone, in section, the same as the window-jambs and mullions. The walls are also spurred at the base, similarly to the barn.

¹ This cross is known locally as Groes Siencyn. I have not been able to find any record of it.

² See plan of building and details in "The Hermitage of Theodoric and Site of Pendar," *Arch. Camb.*, April, 1903.

³ Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite writes me that the date of the window at St. Michael's may be circa A.D. 1600 . . . "It is not safe to give an opinion from a drawing of one example, without knowledge of the work of the neighbourhood."

The Grange of St. Michael stands only at a level of 50 ft. above the sea, and nearly all round it are hills of 100 ft. high, which nestle close about it; so it is no wonder the river, which runs close to the house, had difficulty in finding its way safe to sea, and turns and twists so. As I said before, anyone standing and looking at the Kenfig (Cenfig it should be, as "k" was never born in Welsh), and knowing on which hand lay the Severn Sea would think the river had turned from its saltness, and was going again towards the hills whence it had but just come. So hot is this sleepy hollow in the sultry summer days, that the dairy has to be covered with turf, and is now a bright green patch of grass.

The Kenfig soon relents and turns again to sea—the sea where "Hafren" and her mother were drowned. In Geoffrey of Monmouth we read that Locrinus, son of Brutus, divided the land of Britain between his brother Camber and Albanactus and himself, and destroyed Humber, King of the Huns. He found in a ship belonging to Humber three ladies of celestial beauty. One was Essyllt, who became his queen, and gave her name to the land of Wye and Usk, and the other Hafren, who gave her name to the Severn Sea, and the Welsh keep it so to-day.

The "big barn" lies true north and south, and the front of the farm faces south.

In the South Pine end of the barn are two rows of pigeon-holes, with ledges above the holes. The holes do not pass through the wall. On the North Pine End of the farmhouse are exactly similar pigeon-holes. The house is about 85 ft. in length, and is nearly true north and south in position.

EGLWYSNUNYD.

We find no mention of this Grange in the Margam Abbey deeds until the end had come. In the Crown Sale (*T.* 362; *C.* MCCCLI) to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, for £642 9s. 8d.—a sum equal in our days to £6,400—of the Manors of Horgrove and Pylle (Pyle), and various lands and granges, we find mentioned Egloose Nunney. In the same deed it is also spelled Egloyse Nunny. The

sum of £642 9s. 8d. was later reduced to £300 by the King in A.D. 1544.

Writing about a sculptured stone at this farm, Professor Westwood calls it "the cross of the Nunnery Farm." On the Ordnance Map the farm is called Eglwysnuny¹—"on site of Nunnery." It was never a nunnery, and how it came to be so called I never could make out. It is simply one of the Abbey Granges, with its chapel dedicated to St. Non, or Nonnita, the mother of St. David. Probably "nyny^d" is the Welsh adaptation of Non, or Nonnita, or Nonna—Eglwys St. Nunyd—the church of St. Non. Breton legends state that the miracle play of St. Nonna was performed at Dirinon, a parish in Brittany (Baring Gould's *Welsh Saints*, pp. 189, 190, and *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iii, p. 256).

Eglwysnuny^d is pleasantly situated on the old Roman road—the *Via Julia Maritima*—and at a level of about 65 ft. above Ordnance datum. The old Roman road is now known as Water Street. Two hundred yards south of the farm is the Roman miliary stone, bearing the inscription—

PVMPEIVS
CARANTORIVS

in debased Latin capitals.

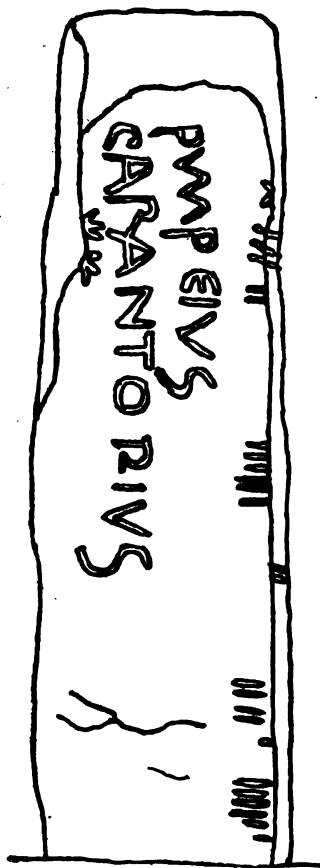
Professor Westwood says it bears locally the name "Bedd Morgan Morganwg"—the "Sepulchre of Prince Morgan." The stone has also Ogam characters marked on it, as will be observed (see over).

Eglwysnuny^d was formerly a Gothic building, with narrow lancet windows, but entirely rebuilt. A little only remains of the original structure. From one of the rooms a flight of steps leads to a deep vault or archway, now bricked up, and tradition has it that this was one entrance to a subterranean passage which led to Margam Abbey. I am unable to say if there is any truth in the tradition, but my friend Mr. W. S. Powell, who formerly lived there, told me he had seen the entrance of this passage at the bottom of the steps, but how far it

¹ In the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel it is called Egloose Nunney, and this phonetic spelling gives us the right name. There is a chapel called Capel Nonny in Cardiganshire, and one near St. Davids, Capel Nunny, both dedicated to St. Non.

extended he did not know. This farm is one of the best in the estate of Margam.

Eglwysnunydd stands on the edge of an irregular ridge, (varying from 50 to 300 ft. above sea-level. From the 300 ft. level the mountains rise quickly to 600 ft., and



Pumpeius Carantorius Stone,
near Eglwysnunydd.

then, but not so abruptly, to 1,000 ft. altitude), between Margam mountains and the sea. From the land the ridge slopes to the large plain called Morfa Mawr, which has a level varying from 12 ft. to 21 ft. above sea-level, most of which, as I have before remarked, was in Abbey times covered with the tide, especially at high springs. From

Eglwysnunydd a fine view is obtained of the plain below, fringed with the sand-dunes, and the glittering sea beyond. The whole of the four miles of piled-up sand-hills can be seen, the result of "inundations of the sea," as it is termed in a deed recited in *T. 253 (C. MCCLII)*. This deed refers to the injury done to the Abbey of Margam by Owen Glyndower, and for that reason King Henry VI grants the restitution of lands, etc., lying between Ukgemore (Ogmore) and Garwe (Garw) called Egliskeinwir¹ (now Llangeinor), and because of injury done by "various inundations of the sea, for upwards of four miles."

: The deed runs, "Nos igitur in consideracionem permissorum ac eciam pro eo quod dicta ecclesia grangie et domus eidem pertinentes tempore rebellionis *WALLIE* spoliata et destructe fuerunt per *OWYNUM DE GLENDORRE* et complices suos, et ulterius quod terre dominice dicte abbacie et grangie ejusdem submerse sunt et destructe per inundaciones aquarum maris per spacium quatuor miliariorum et ultra." Dated under Royal seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, at Westminster Palace, 28 April, Hen. VI, A.D. 1440.

Eglwysnunydd, as I have said before, stands on the Roman Road, the *Via Julia Maritima*, and in thinking of the Welsh name for the road, "Heol-y-troedwyr," "Road of the Foot-soldiers or Infantry," one can imagine, on a still, calm night, that one hears the tramp of the soldiers of the Second Legion, whose headquarters were at Caerleon, passing along on the road to Neath (Nidum) and Loughor (Leucarum); Welsh, Llwchwr. The tradition of the Roman occupation became lost in the mists of ages, and the inhabitants thought the name Heol-y-troedwyr must be Heol troad-dwr, "the road of the turning of the water;" and so it is called to-day, shortened into "Water Street" in English.

A little north of Eglwysnunydd is Cwrt-y-defaid, or, as it is named in the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel, "Shepes Mylle"; Cwrt-y-defaid is Sheep Court, or Farm. It is now the saw-mill for the estate. The mill-race is fed by the same stream that worked Cryke Mill, three-quarters

¹ Eglwys—church; Keinwir—St. Oeinwir. "Llan" now is used for church; formerly it meant an enclosure.

of a mile to the north. The race also fed the Abbey fish-ponds, "*stagna vivaria*," as they are termed in the Crown Sale.

At Cwrt-y-defaid is a bridge over the mill-race stream called Pont-yr-Offeiriad, the Priest's Bridge. On the opposite side of the road from the Mill at Cwrt-y-defaid is a mound called Beggar's Bush—why so named I could never find out, unless the beggars going from the Abbey in old days rested there to enjoy the food given them at the Abbey; or, I think it still more probable, the mendicant friars, who were not regarded with friendly eyes by the Monastic Orders, may have used the knoll as a resting-place, preaching from it and begging from the passers-by: hence the name, "Beggars' Bush." The high road passed close to the Abbey in those days; it was diverted several years ago from the Abbey and straightened. The new part was made in the days when, as the late Mr. C. R. M. Talbot once told me, the Abbey was the quarry for the neighbourhood, for in the walls are dressed Sutton stones, with here and there carved bases of pillars and capitals from the ruins. I have an idea that Shepes Mylle was a woollen or fulling mill for making the woollen garments for the monks and the servants.

What a terrible age was that which set in in the Georgian days, when the priceless Early-English work in the choir of the Abbey church was pulled down, and the stones carted all over the parish, and used in building walls, barns, and pig-styes; when the arcades and pillars of the nave of the church—the older Norman work—were pitted with holes to retain plaster, and then plastered over, the interior filled with unsightly pews, and an elaborate pulpit erected against one of the pillars. The better altar-frontal was reserved for the periods in which the family resided at Margam, and the shabbier one put on when they were absent. But a great change came; a renaissance had slowly but surely arrived: the pews were banished, the plaster removed, showing the stonework of the severe Norman period once more; open seats replaced the box-pews, and the church was changed and beautified.

ERRATA IN PART I.

NOTES ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY, Vol. lix.

- Page 165. Fifteenth line from top, "M^o C^o XXXIX," should be "MCCXXXIX."
- „ 169. Fourth line of third paragraph, *for* "his brother Leisan and Owein," *read* "his brothers Leisan and Owein."
- „ 169. Fifth line from bottom, "in Melis" (see note on Melis). Note omitted: it should be "Melis = Melus" (pronounced "Melis"), Welsh for "sweet": land occasionally covered by the tidal waters, and the grass thereby made sweet. Sheep graze eagerly on this short grass, and thrive well upon it. Meols in Wirral, Cheshire coast, has a similar meaning."
- „ 177. Second line of last paragraph, *for* "Hafod-y-Port, *read* "Hafod-y-Porth."
- „ 179. Second line of last paragraph, *for* "Prince's Gravestone lies," *read* "a Prince's Gravestone lies."
- „ 180. Last line of first paragraph, "—Grwys, a corruption of Croes," *read* "Grwys, a corruption of Groes."

(To be continued.)





THE BOY BISHOP¹ (*EPISCOPUS PUERORUM*) OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

(Read January 15th, 1902).

PART I.



IN order to appreciate the significance and the meaning of both the function and the customary rites and observances connected with the *Episcopus Puerorum* ceremonial, as an institution of the Western Church that existed for some centuries in mediæval England, and for a much longer period on the Continent of Europe, it will be necessary, as far as possible, to trace its history through various stages. The material for the purpose is not very abundant, but sufficient exists to enable us to gain a fair insight into the singular mediæval festival which connects the Boy Bishop (*Episcopus Choristarum*) with that most popular saint of the Middle Ages, St. Nicholas, the patron saint of children, upon whose day (December 6th) the election of the Boy Bishop was ceremoniously made, and with the festival of the Holy Innocents (December 28th), when the observance of Childermas came to a conclusion.

The fourth-century St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra, is honoured in being regarded as the patron saint of nearly four hundred churches in England. Virgins and children, scholars and sailors alike, nay, even thieves and robbers, recognise in this native of Asia Minor their

¹ *Puer Episcopali habitu ornatus.*

patron saint and protector. The feast of Saint Nicholas is a festival of distinctive importance, particularly in southern Italy, where at Bari the commemoration is altogether unique in stately grandeur and solemn impressiveness. I am unable to discover any ceremony that answers to the election of Boy Bishop, with its attendant rites, in this connection, save only that pilgrims, on entering the church of St. Nicholas, sometimes move along the aisles with the forehead pressed to the marble pavement, led by a child, who holds a string or handkerchief, the end or corner of which is in the mouth ("a little child shall lead them"). The spirit of such abasement is discernible in the complete subjugation of the dignitaries of a cathedral church to the direction and government of a chorister, to whom all authority, apparently for a time, is unreservedly committed. Or, again, the marked deference paid by the Church authorities to the people, as seen on this day. There the Saint Nicholas festival is said to be the only occasion in Italy when *the religion of Jesus Christ is seen in the hands of the populace!* Early in the morning, the mariners receive into their own particular charge, until nightfall, the wooden image of St. Nicholas, attired in the robes and mitre of an archbishop. They carry the image in all directions, on land and sea, amidst the most intense enthusiasm; and it is only late at night that the canons receive again into their custody the form of the archbishop. It may be mentioned that the King of Italy, when he enters the precincts of St. Nicholas, is esteemed a less person than the Prior. It is not difficult to trace in these proceedings much that bears on the Boy Bishop ceremonial ("the elder shall serve the younger")¹.

The origin of the festival, in common with other similar days of rejoicing, in what may be termed their

¹ Some notes on the "Legendary Life of St. Nicholas" were read before the British Archæological Association by Dr. W. de Gray Birch (17th March, 1886). In vol. ix of the *Journal* (p. 449) is a further communication, bearing on the same topic. Some particulars relating to the "Nicholas" or "Boy Bishop," are given in the latter, including extracts from documents belonging to Winchester College, testifying not only to the observance of the festival (A.D. 1415-1462), but to the possession of the child's episcopal staff.

coarser and more boisterous aspect, may undoubtedly be traced to the heathen *Saturnalia*, which took place on December 17th. That the latter had a strong hold upon the habits and affections of the people is beyond all doubt, and, as in so many like instances, resulted in the institution of less hideous orgies, that were at least supposed, in some measure, to be brought under the control of Christian influence. There are certain points of resemblance that clearly establish the relationship of the *Saturnalia* with the subsequent celebrations. In the *Saturnalia*, the slaves took the place of the masters, and acted without restraint; so in the Boy Bishop, and similar ceremonial, the lesser assumed the rôle of the greater, and the proceedings were marked, more or less, by like unbounded licence. The festival of the *Sigellaria* being connected with the *Saturnalia*, the mirth was extended to a week. Lucian makes Saturn say in the *Saturnalia*: "During my reign of a week, no one may attend to his business, but only to drinking, singing, playing, making imaginary kings, playing servants at table with their masters," etc.

The shocking profanity that characterised certain festal observances on the Continent can hardly have entered to an appreciable extent into the festivities that were associated with life in the English Church.¹ It has become too much the tendency to associate the buffoonery of the Christmastide carnival with certain imposing ceremonies and observances, countenanced and encouraged by the mediæval Church.¹ Sir Walter Scott, who has familiarised us in "The Abbot" with the Lord or Abbot of Misrule, or Unreason, has a note to the effect that the Church after this manner connived at the follies of the rude vulgar, and assumed the privilege of making a Lord of the Revels, not only under the title or style of Lord of Unreason, or President of Fools,² but also under the

¹ This is probably due to customs which obtained in certain quarters where, as at Beverley Minster, the *Rex Stultorum* festival (which was prohibited in 1391) was celebrated, but it certainly was exceptional and short-lived.

² "A graund Capitaine of mischiefe whom the people were wont to innoble with the title of *Lord of Misrule* and hym they crown with great solemnity and adopt for their kinge."—Phil. Stubbs' *Anatomie of Abuses*, A.D. 1595.

name of the Boy Bishop, thereby profaning the holy places by a mock imitation of the sacred rites, and singing indecent parodies on hymns of the Church.¹ The sport of enacting the Abbot of Unreason, in which a mimic prelate was elected, seems to have been peculiar to Scotland; and according to Sir Walter Scott, like the Lord of Misrule in England, the Abbot of Unreason turned all sorts of lawful authority, and particularly the Church ritual, into ridicule.

Such manifest impropriety and studied irreverence can best be viewed in the light of a degeneracy that marked the period immediately following on the Reformation, when at least the rites of the Church, which had been in a measure, however unwittingly, profaned, would lend themselves to the scoffer's jest, and would be parodied with a mischievous fervour that may be said to have possessed the popular mind during a bout of hilarity.

It is necessary to observe that the ceremonies connected with the Boy Bishop have no proper relationship, as I understand the matter, with the indecent and irreverent "Feast of Fools," with all its unhallowed and grotesque surroundings, which Bishop Grosseteste, however, in the thirteenth century, sought to suppress; and such action, as it would seem, was pretty general about this time.² The "Feast of Fools" was doubtless brought in to counteract the pernicious influence of the Roman *Saturnalia*. In order to stay the licentious character of heathen observances, it was not deemed prudent to turn aside altogether from the institutions to which the people were so greatly attached. It would be an interesting study to view under this aspect the association of acknowledged Christian feasts, *e.g.*, St. Valentine, and mark the connection with the practice of our heathen forefathers. Prynne, Polydore Vergil, and others, comment upon the

¹ There is absolutely no authority for this statement as to the use of indecent hymn parodies in connection with the Boy Bishop.

² Strutt (*Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*) is not warranted in assuming a universal observance in cathedral churches of a "Bishop of Fools" custom. Neither in England did the ceremony partake of the impious and degrading character that marked it on the Continent.

affinity, concluding that the revelry of the Christmas-tide observances was "the very ape and issue of the other," and should cause all pious Christians eternally to abominate them. They overlook the fact that unguarded licence and the utter lack of control in respect to these customs was the main cause of the disorders they justly condemn, and that the intention in allowing these extravagancies at all was at the first deemed at least politic if not praiseworthy. There was little or no apprehension of the serious result that might follow, either as regards the cause of religion or the well-being of the Church. With the indecorous festivities and undignified gambols that characterised the observances so often classed with the Boy Bishop ceremonies, the latter had really little or nothing in common. The annual election of the Boy Bishop from among the choristers, with its accompanying features, has been in turns viewed as a burlesque, as a profane and ridiculous mummary, a buffoonery, a ludicrous parody, a solemn farce, a mere pastime, an idle revel, etc., etc. In its special character, at all events, it is not entitled to be so regarded; and the observance, if it does not merit complete approval, deserves a little less of the hasty contempt with which it is too frequently associated, and more in the way of dispassionate investigation.

It may not be possible to alter the trend of deep-rooted opinion in a rough-and-ready condemnation of such supposed "child's play," to disarm prejudice, or turn aside a churchman's dislike to a spectacular portrayal of sacred things, that in his mind amounts to little less than a prostitution of divine offices, and sorely violates his sense of religious propriety; but it ought to be possible to state the case so as to render it less difficult to discern its more pleasing side. For the antiquary the subject must possess a peculiar charm and attraction; and it is cause for some surprise that no particular attention should have been hitherto directed to the main points of interest which may be said to centre in the *raison d'être* of the ceremonial employed.

Without question, many foolish extravagancies were, in course of time, perpetrated, but the maintenance of the

Boy Bishop, as an institution, was doubtless dictated by no unworthy motives. So far as the ceremonies are concerned, there seem to have been a steady determination to safeguard the position by an honest endeavour to magnify the Boy Bishop's office, and raise the whole tone and character of the observance, with a view to serve the highest interests of the Church and her servants.

Like so many attempts at incompatible compromise, we can scarcely be surprised that the process of grafting the more hallowed features of our holy faith upon a stock of barbarous growth met with indifferent success. It was perhaps the wisdom of the Church not wholly to dispossess the popular idea in respect to pagan customs, which were in very truth a part of the national life, and possessed the affections of the multitude. An evidence of this disposition not to displace cherished institutions lightly may be discovered in the utilisation of the very temples raised in honour of heathen divinities as places of Christian worship.

The Boy Bishop ceremonies were not necessarily a departure from Church order, neither are we right in regarding them as a mere appeal to the vulgar tastes of the common people. The ornate ritual can never be said to have fallen so low as to have become "absolutely ridiculous." It was, at least, intended to serve a much higher purpose. The whole spirit of the function was surely against a travesty of Christian worship; and however much we may deplore a craving after what may not unreasonably be termed sensationalism, we cannot fail to recognise a laudable desire to captivate, after the spirit that animated the age, the religious affections of the people. Compare the present-day endeavours that mark the action of various religious bodies, notably certain of more recent growth; and after making due allowance for the changes wrought by time, say whether the *Episcopus Puerorum*, as an institution of the Middle Ages, is so outrageously improper as to bear any comparison, in point of folly, with the ancient *Saturnalia*, or even the extravagancies of modern times? Rather was it not conceived in the spirit that at once sought to gratify the religious instincts that marked a particular period of the

Church's life, in specially honouring the person of a child, notably when the child was engaged in her service, as well as in upholding the childlike character, which, being displayed through the medium of high ceremonial, was intended to lay hold of the religious susceptibilities of the people at large.

Warton¹ thinks that "the religious mockery" (as he phrases it), which is too readily assumed to have been founded on certain modes of barbarous life, may be traced backward certainly as far as A.D. 867 or 870. About this time the Constantinopolitan Synod found it to be a custom in the Courts of Princes for some layman to personate a bishop, and in this and other ways to make sport for the company. This scandal was duly anathematised. Clearly, this levity was no recognised Church function. In the tenth century, it is affirmed by Cedranus that Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople, introduced the festivities connected with the selection of a boy as *pseudo*-bishop. Whether the action was observed in the Western Church at an earlier date is uncertain, but it may be fairly assumed that at no later period on the Continent of Europe, and possibly in England, the boys of the cathedral schools took part in Christmas festivities, hallowed by religious services, in which they had first place. We possess abundant evidence relating to dances in several churches on the Continent, in which, during the Christmas season, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and choristers are said to have engaged; even a bishop, an archbishop, and a Pope were elected in profane show. Such riotous proceedings—certainly so far as dancing in churches on the Feast of the Holy Innocents was concerned—were expressly forbidden by the Council of Cognac, in 1260, Basle and Nantes in 1431, the Chapter of Treves in 1445, and as early as 1198 by the Papal Legate; but all manner of impieties marked the so-called "Liberty of December," both within the Church and beyond. That the frivolity of the "Feast of Fools" was an accepted diversion on the Continent in connection with the Church is an established fact, attested by a

¹ *History of English Poetry.*

MS., in the Cathedral of Sens, where the actual office book of Fools is said to be preserved.¹ It is satisfactory to feel that mock ceremonial of this kind had certainly no such prominence in the English Church; and while in many parts of France the Boy Bishop observance was classed with the Feast of Fools, there has never been, as far as I can learn, any real attempt to bring them together. In the popular mind, however, there is some disposition to view the two as more or less identical in origin and purpose. In the Feast of Fools, a pretended bishop seems often to have been the chief actor, and to have provoked superabundant mirth, being frequently associated with other mimics, who occupied the stalls of the Canons. It is not, however, pretended that such shameless spectacles were Boy Bishop celebrations, certainly not as practised in England. Yet, here and there, instances of the Boy Bishop celebrations, as at Zug, in Switzerland, are recorded, where the *Episcopus Puerorum*, being preceded by a chaplain bearing a cross, was followed by a "fool," who carried a staff, to which a bladder, filled with peas, was attached, the companions of the Boy Bishop bringing up the rear, attended by a military guard. After going to the church, the Boy Bishop proceeded to levy a tax on the several booths and stalls in the fair. This, however, was a somewhat exceptional occurrence on the accustomed fête-day towards the close of the eighteenth century.²

The ceremony of the Boy Bishop was anciently observed at Tours, Antwerp, Beauvais, Vienne, Toul, Senlis, Noyon, Amiens, and in many other important churches, with much grandeur and solemnity. It will be sufficient here to mention the case of Rouen, as affording some indication of the nature of the ceremony. The choristers in albs, copes, and tunics, holding tapers, assembled in the sacristy on the eve of the Feast of the Holy Innocents,

¹ *Vide* Du Tilliot's *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Fête des Foux*. Lausanne, 1741.

² The *St. James's Chronicle*, November 16th, 1797, said of this fête that it had been suppressed, the traders having made complaint of the demand for stallage. It was added: "The Bishop means to appeal to the Pope."

and from thence went in procession, headed by the Boy Bishop, wearing his mitre and the usual episcopal vestments, to the altar of the Holy Innocents, from whence he gave his blessing to the people. Mass was sung by a canon, the Boy Bishop singing the prose and the offertory. At vespers, at the singing of the words, "He hath put down the mighty from their seat," the Boy Bishop resigned his office and staff (the people giving an offering of money), having first said Mass (presumably as far as the offertory), and preached. Not only were the ceremonies observed in the several cathedral churches of France, but also in houses like the Convent aux Dames at Caen.

It would appear that in Germany, as early as 1274, the Boy Bishop observance was adjudged by the Council of Saltzburg¹ as having produced great enormities, and the festival was in consequence prohibited ("ludi noxii quos vulgaris eloquentia Episcopus puerorum appellat"). The follies that so often attended the function clearly got the upper hand, and the religious element was lost in unseemly gaiety. We obtain an insight into the nature of the proceedings that tended to bring the festival into obloquy, from an account of the election of the Boy Bishop in the churches of Spain. A chorister being placed with some solemnity upon a platform, there descended from the vaulting of the ceiling a cloud, which, stopping midway, opened. Two angels within it carried a mitre, which, in their descent, they placed upon the head of the boy. We are hardly surprised to learn that this became an occasion of some irregularities. In Spain the Boy Bishop, who exercised his jurisdiction from St. Nicholas Day until the Feast of the Holy Innocents, bestowed various secular offices upon his "prebendaries." It is well-nigh past belief that such absurdities should have been tolerated, as appear to have largely been the case, and the most sacred rites parodied, in so many places and under varying conditions for a very considerable time—many centuries, in fact.

An ancient and curious custom obtains in Seville,

¹ Du Fresne. Voc. *Epis. Puer.*

where, at the Cathedral Church, during the last three days of a religious carnival,¹ the choristers dance before the high altar, being attired in seventeenth-century costume. This dance has been described by Lady Herbert² as "so solemn, so suggestive, and so peculiar, that no one who has witnessed it can speak of it without emotion." The origin of this custom is, I believe, unknown, but it is not unlikely to be a relic of the Boy Bishop ceremonies. It is certainly instructive to find devout persons still regarding even dancing before the altar with approbation. This is, I think, the more interesting when dancing in English churches at Christmas is considered. In the Camden Society volume, *Anecdotes and Traditions*, p. 80, we read:—"Captn. Potter (born in the north of Yorkshire) sayes that in the country churches at Christmas, in the *Holy daies after Prayers*, they will dance in the church, and as they doe dance they cry [or sing] *Yole, Yole, Yole!* etc."

This latter form of celebrating Christmas during the holy days of the festival affords well-nigh conclusive evidence to my mind of the practice being the outcome of the proceedings in the Boy Bishop and similar rites. Such observances of more recent times would appear to have awakened no particular amazement. Indeed, the way in which mimicry insinuated itself into the most solemn causes, remaining in some sort even to the present time, is remarkable, *e.g.*, watching by a corpse; while some kneel and pray, others drink and play cards, etc.

That the ceremony had in process of time become largely associated with sport, and that derision and scoffing (not without reason) assailed it in many quarters, is evident from a passage in Puttenham:³—

"On St. Nicholas's night, commonly, the scholars of the country make them a Bishop, who, like a foolish boy, goeth about blessing and preaching, with such childish terms as make the people laugh at his foolish counterfeit speeches."

¹ During the octaves of the festivals of Corpus Christi and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

² *Impressions of Spain* in 1866, p. 129.

³ *Art of Poesie*, 1589

The interdict of the Council of Basle, A.D. 1431, alludes to the ceremony as "called the Feast of Fooles, of Innocents, or of children in *certain* countries." This "foule abuse" detested of that Sacred Synod is further spoken of as "frequent in certaine churches . . . on certain festivals of the year when certaine persons with a miter, staffe and pontifical robes, blesse men after the manner of bishops, others being clothed like kings and dukes . . . others practising vizarded and theatrical sports; others making traines and dances of men and women."¹

It is not unlikely that this latter description is grounded upon widespread usage, when the ceremonial that attended the Boy Bishop's "episcopate" had become entangled in a mass of absurdities which required a vigorous sweep of the reforming broom to clear away. That the spirit of the Reformation was moving a century at least before it actually took shape, is seen in the term of the interdict which forbade "such like plays and pastimes to be any more exercised in the Church, *which ought to be the house of prayer*," etc.

It is important to observe that the practice of mingling divers singular observances of this class together obtained at an early period in England, for in a precept to the Sheriff of Oxford, in 1305,² a prohibition went out to prevent tournaments (military spectacles) being intermixed with the sports of the scholars on St. Nicholas Day. What was clearly inconvenient then proved in course of time to be a very real evil. The scholarly and religious element was considerably curtailed by the action of unfitting accompaniments, long before the Boy Bishop ceremonies in mediæval England were restrained altogether.³

At the Propaganda College at Rome, the custom of choosing a Boy Bishop by ballot on Christmas Eve is still observed. The practice is said to have been stipulated for in the original grant of money at the foundation of

¹ Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 601.

² *Close Rolls*, Edw. I, memb. 2.

³ A survival of the Boy Bishop exists, I am told, in the St. Wilfrid celebration at Ripon, when a mock bishop passes through the city.

this institution, to perpetuate this observance of the Middle Ages. The Boy Bishop is attended by deacons and sub-deacons, whom he selects generally from Italian youths connected with the community. His episcopal functions close the day after the Epiphany.

Some sort of revival of the Boy-Bishop custom, *minus* the episcopal adjuncts, has taken effect in connection with a Roman Catholic Church in Westminster, where St. Aloysius is annually commemorated in a procession of children through the streets, and the recitation by a boy, vested in black cassock and biretta, of a sermon delivered from the top step of the high altar, surrounded by his attendant companions. The subject of the sermon, written by one of the priests of the Mission, appears to be the life and example of an eminent child of saintly character.

The practice of choosing a boy from among the choristers of cathedral, collegiate, and other churches would appear—at any rate towards the period of the Reformation—to have been well-nigh universal. The election was made by the boys themselves, on the Eve of St. Nicholas, where, as at St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, all were present at an entertainment, when the Boy Bishop was presented with gloves, etc.¹ On St. Nicholas Day, the boys accompanied the object of their choice to the church in solemn procession. Two chaplains were in attendance on the Boy Bishop at St. Paul's Cathedral, together with two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the servants of the Church; and this, with slight deviations, would be the order elsewhere. The procession passed into the choir (as we learn from the Salisbury use), in such order that the dean and the canon went first, the chaplain followed, while the Boy Bishop and his prebendaries took the last and pre-eminent place. The Bishop having taken his seat, the rest of the children disposed themselves on either side of the choir, upon the uppermost ascent, the canons bearing the incense and the book, and the *petit* canons the tapers, according to the regulated order. From such

¹ Payments for such items occur in the College accounts during the fifteenth century.

time to the close of the next day's procession, none of the clergy, whatever their rank, might ascend to the upper seats. The Boy Bishop had a special set of pontificals provided for his use, which, from the various entries in sundry inventories and elsewhere,¹ would appear to have been frequently of a most sumptuous character.

The Boy Bishop and his company sang the first vespers of their saint, and the same evening, arrayed in their vestments, went in procession through the cathedral precincts or parish, the Bishop giving his blessing, and otherwise dispensing such favours as became his state. It is recorded that in 1299, King Edward I, when at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, attended vespers at Heaton, upon St. Nicholas Eve,² and to the Boy Bishop and his companions who sang with him, the King gave an offering of forty shillings. While the Boy Bishop went his round, and during the subsequent days of his so-called visitation, he gathered his subsidy. A very considerable revenue must frequently have resulted, especially when it is remembered that the term of office did not expire until the night of Holy Innocents' Day (December 28th).

From the Issue Roll of the Exchequer (Michas. 35 Henry VI) I extract the following :—

“ 25 Oct. Puero episcopo libere capelle Regis Sti. Stephani In denariis de eleemosina ipsius Regis in Vigilia S. Nicholai, prout consimili Episcopo temporibus progenitorum dicti domini Regis in Vigilia predicta antiquiores solvere consueverunt per breve generale currens ut supra xxs.”

Needless to say, there was much feasting and merriment, which, it is right to add, was confined in a general way to the outside of the church.

It is usually thought that the Boy Bishop, in cathedral churches, among other privileges, had the right to fill any prebend that happened to become vacant while he held office.³ This is, I think, a mere assumption,

¹ A representative series of extracts from Church Goods Inventories, in illustration, will be given later on.

² *Wardrobe Amounts*, Edw. I, published by Society of Antiquaries.

³ Miss Yonge, in her contribution to the Christmas Number of *The*

derived apparently from the one isolated reference to Molanus (A.D. 1619), who says that in the Church of Cambraie a cathedral prebend that then fell vacant was at the disposal of the Boy Bishop. It is equally doubtful if any sort of order existed in reference to the burial of a child-bishop with the honours due to a bishop in the event of his decease. It is curious to observe how such an idea gained currency. On the north side of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral is a small monumental effigy of a bishop in episcopal garb, with crosier in hand. This diminutive figure attracted the attention of John Gregorie, one of the chaplains at Christ Church, Oxford (died 1646), who, in a treatise entitled :

“ EPISCOPUS PUERORUM | *in die* | INNOCENTIIUM | or | A discovery of an Ancient Custom in the Church of Sarum making an Anniversary Bishop among the Choristers,”

which appears in the second part of his works, gives it as his opinion that the mitred form, owing to its size, commemorates a child. It seemed to Gregorie and others, incredible that a bishop could be so small of stature, or “a child so great in clothes !” Subsequently, he found among the statutes governing the Church, one bearing the title, *De Episcopo Choristarum*, and afterwards turning to the *Processionale ad Usam Sarum*, he was led to conjecture that the tomb could be no other than that of one of the Boy Bishops, who, he imagined, had died during the time he sustained such dignity. In such case, the chorister bishop is supposed to have been interred with much pomp, and his ornaments upon him. After discoursing on his so-called discovery (for the monument had long being hidden away beneath some seats near the pulpit), and the different ways in which the festival of the Holy Innocents had been observed, he says : “ But the most commensurate recollection of this day’s business (did not the superstitious part spoil the decorum) is that which we are now about : a celebration of the day, and the divinest part of that, by a service and

Monthly Packet (1878), has expressed this idea in her pretty story, “Early Dew ; or, the Boy Bishop,” and also in “The Mice at Play.”

solemnity of children."¹ It will be seen that Gregorie was disposed to view the celebration as restricted to the one day, that of the Holy Innocents. It is highly improbable that a child bishop is commemorated in this effigy at Salisbury; rather, the tomb is probably that of an actual bishop of the diocese. This conjecture is strengthened by later investigations, which have brought to light quite a number of these smaller effigies, not of ecclesiastics only, but of knights and civilians.² Neither is the probability of a Boy Bishop dying during his brief tenure of office worth encouraging, seeing that particular care was taken to have a vigorous youth.

Fosbrook,³ speaking of the Boy Bishop ceremony, says: "Our ancestors used this (mummary) as we now do the Catechism, to impress principles, such as they were, upon the minds of their children . . . It was plainly founded on this story in the legend of St. Nicholas. A bishop who had been elected to a vacant see was warned by a dream to go to the doors of the church at the hour of matins, and 'hym that sholde fyrste come to the chyrche and have the name of Nicholas, they sholde sacre him Byssop'⁴ (i.e., one bishop was superseded by another)".

There appears to be some difference of opinion as to how far the Boy Bishop proceeded in the Office, or to what extent he celebrated Mass. It would seem that where the custom obtained of saying Mass, the youthful celebrant went no further than the more solemn part of the Offertory.⁵

In the *Processionale ad usum insignis et preclare Ecclesiæ Sarum* (Rothomagi, A.D. 1556, 4to.) occurs the particular service in use on the eve of Holy Innocents'

¹ The observance in the Church of Sarum dates from the opening of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. The Bishop of Salisbury (Mortival), in 1319, forbade both feast and visitation, owing to irregularities.

² In a Paper by J. R. Planché, on "Sepulchral Effigies in Salisbury Cathedral" (British Archæological Association, *Journal*, vol. xv), wherein are illustrations, this view is taken.

³ *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 660.

⁴ *Golden Legend*, xxix, b.

⁵ The proclamation of Henry VIII affirms that the Boy Bishop did "singe masse;" some authorities think that the Mass was excepted.

Day, with the musical setting. The dignitaries of the Church acted as "servers" to the boys. The following free rendering of the original form will, I think, prove acceptable. It gives a better idea of the office than could otherwise be obtained.

DIE ST. JOHANNIS AD VESPERAS DE INNO-
CENTIBUS PROCESSIO.

The procession of boys shall go to the altar of the Innocents or the Holy Trinity and All Saints, with their silk copes, and their lighted tapers in their hands, singing :

The hundred and forty-four thousand who are redeemed from the earth: these are they who were not defiled with women, wherefore they reign with God and God with them.

The Bishop of the Boys, when seated, shall begin the response.

Three boys shall say a verse: These were the first-fruits taken from all places by God and the Lamb: and in whose mouth no falsehood was found. Therefore they reign.

All the boys shall sing a like prose, as follows, viz.:

Sitting on the seat of His Supreme Majesty.

The chorus shall answer the singing of the prose.

V. They humbly adore, calling upon Thee,

V. Holy, Holy, Holy, King of Sabaoth.

V. All things are full of Thy glory,

V. And with Thy most innocent flock,

V. Who are without any stain,

V. Saying in a loud voice:

V. Praise be to thee, O Lord, King of Everlasting Glory.
Therefore they reign.

During the procession he does not say the Gloria: but while the Prose is being sung the Bishop of the Boys shall cense the altar, then the figure of the Holy Trinity, and afterwards the priest, and shall say in a subdued voice, this:

V. Let us rejoice in the Lord.

Prayer.

O God, the martyr infants have confessed, not by speaking but by their death, whose day of intercession it is: mortify all evil vices in us, that Thy Faith of which our tongue speaks may be shown by the conduct of our lives. Who with God the Father.

On their return from the altar, the Chanter Chorister begins *De Sancta Maria*.

R. Happy art thou for, etc. *When his own verse is ended, the Boy Bishop shall say in a subdued voice:*

V. A beauteous form.

Prayer. O God who art our Salvation. *Which endeth thus:* God who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

The Lord be with you
And with Thy Spirit.

Then shall follow : Let us bless the Lord, by two or three out of the ordinary course. *Then the Boy Bishop shall enter his stall, and in the meantime the Cross-Bearer shall receive the Bishop's staff turned towards the Bishop ; and he shall begin this Antiphone Chief of the Church, which is not said if the Bishop be absent ; and when he shall have come to that word, with gentleness he shall turn towards the people and sing the whole.*

Ant.—Chief of the Church, Shepherd of the fold, Thou art deemed worthy to bless all Thy people, with gentleness and charity. Humble yourselves for the blessing

The Chorus shall answer :
Thanks be to God.

Then he shall hand the staff to the Bishop ; and then shall the Boy Bishop first sign himself on his forehead, while beginning in this manner :

Our help is in the name of the Lord, who maketh heaven and earth.

Then the Bishop signing himself on his breast shall say :
Blessed be the name of the Lord.

The chorus shall answer : From this time forth for ever more.

Then the Bishop, turning to the Chorus, shall raise his arm, and shall begin his blessing in this manner : I sign you with the sign of the Cross.

Here he turns himself to the people, saying : Let this be your safeguard.

Then he turns towards the altar, saying : Who purchases and redeems you.

Afterwards, having turned himself about, while placing his hand upon his breast, he shall say : I pray for your body (flesh). Chorus, Amen.

When this is accomplished, the Boy Bishop shall begin the daily Compline in the usual manner : after the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria. And after the Compline the Boy Bishop shall say, turned towards the Chorus, in the aforesaid tone (of voice) :

Our help is in the name of the Lord who maketh heaven and earth. Blessed be the name of the Lord. From this time forth for evermore. May the Almighty God bless you, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Where truly he does not make a procession from the Innocents,

then he shall make a memorial first from these, before the memorial of the Nativity, with this (antiphon) :

The Innocents were slain on Christ's behalf by a wicked king; they were killed, sucking children as they were. They follow the Lamb himself without spot, and ever say : glory be to Thee, O Lord.

V. Let us rejoice.

Prayer. O God, on whose day, *etc.*

When the Memorials have been said, the Boy Bishop shall say the blessing over the people in like manner as it was said after the Compline.

This response shall be started by a single boy on the choir-step in his silken hood, and his own verse shall be sung by all the boys in their superpellicas in the boy's quarter, with the prose if it suits, and so with the Gloria.

And in like fashion the Boy Bishop shall bless the people in the manner indicated. And so the office of the boys is accomplished for this day.

Needless to say the reformed Prayer-book left no place for the ceremony, neither was the form compatible with the new order of things.

The custom, as we have stated, was widespread, but particular attention may be directed to the fact that at certain cathedral churches, and some more important parish churches, it was observed with special ceremony.

I have spoken of Salisbury : in the old statutes of that church it was specially ordered that no one, under pain of anathema, should in any way interrupt or press upon the Boy Bishop and his companions as they passed in procession, or hinder them in any part of their service, but suffer them quietly to perform their office. The regulation in itself not only points to the desire on the part of the authorities not to allow anything in the way of disorderly conduct (and such behaviour had need to be guarded against), but it attests the imposing nature of the ceremonial, which was in danger of losing its impressiveness, and degenerating into coarse, profane ribaldry. It is very wide of the mark to imagine that the intention of the Church in this custom was to amuse the people.

At St. Paul's Cathedral, statutes were in force regu-

lating the observance¹ from an early time. From this source we learn that the tendency was to bring the dignity of the Church into disrepute. It was consequently ordered, *inter alia*, that the Boy Bishop should select his own ministers² to bear the tapers and the censer, from among the boys, and not—as had previously been the case—from the Canons of the Church. This was owing to the action of the dean, Geoffrey de Feringes, in 1262. At this early time, it would seem that the privileges of the Boy Bishop were being somewhat curtailed; and, as in this instance, the one peculiar idea of the function, viz., that “the elder should serve the younger” was being abrogated. Among other formalities at St. Paul’s, after vespers on the eve of St. John the Evangelist, the Boy Bishop was entertained either at the deanery or at the house of the canon-in-residence; if at the deanery, fifteen of the Boy Bishop’s companions joined him. The dean also provided a horse for the Boy Bishop to go in procession, while each of the other canons furnished a horse to enable some person to join the *cortège*. Although the procession was discontinued by proclamation on July 25th, 1542, Cranmer giving effect to it, the custom was so far cherished by the citizens of London as to be retained for some years after the issue of the order.

Dean Colet gave express directions in the statutes that governed his school that “all the children shall every Childermas day come to Paulis Church and heare the childe bishop Sermon and after be at the hygh masse and each of them offer a 1*d.* to the childe bysshop.” This recognition of the custom says much for its reasonableness.

¹ *Vide* Part vi, cap. 9, of the Statutes as incorporated by Bishop Baldock and Dean Lisieux in *Registrum Statutorum*, etc. See also the Statute *De Officio Puerorum in Festo Sanctorum Innocentium*.

² Those that sat on the second or third form, *i.e.*, the choristers, who were designated “Clerks of the Third Form.” The arrangement prevails still in Cathedral Churches, not so the designation!

(*To be continued*).



BATH STONE.

By T. STURGE COTTERELL, Esq.

(Read at the Bath Congress, August 9th, 1904.)



THE Bath Stone of which I am about to treat is quarried on the uplands south of Bath and north-west Wilts, the quarries having been sunk on a vast Oolitic—which American and Continental geologists call “Jurassic”—formation. From the time of the Roman occupation down to the present day, thousands of tons have been extracted yearly from this bed, and the day is still far distant when it will be exhausted. Roman and English architects have chosen this stone to impart exquisite and enduring beauty to incomparable designs for private, public, and ecclesiastical buildings. The use of it, as well as the genius of the architects, has given Bath a high place among cities, and induced Macaulay, in his *History of England*, to characterise it as “that beautiful city which charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio.”

The Romans held that the hardest stone was best suited for building purposes, and the massive structures at and around the hot mineral springs which were erected two thousand years ago are still in a state of preservation, which testifies to the wisdom of the Romans and the excellence of the stone. It was quarried to the south of the city, from ground adjoining the “Fosse-way” or Roman road, with ditches on each side, the place being near or opposite what is now Bloomfield Crescent. This was the site of a Roman camp, but the quarrying has effaced nearly every vestige of it, while the spot still bears the name of Brerewick Camp, but the quarry has long

ceased to exist. According to the late Mr. J. T. Irving, a notable Bath antiquary, that stone may have been quarried by the Romans as far as Englishcombe Lane; there is a tradition that a Roman town once stood on this spot, and that stone coffins have been disinterred on its site. Leland, in his *Itinerary* of 1532, notes that he saw, after leaving Midford, on his way to Bath, "that it was all by mountaine and quarre, little wood in site." Coming to Holloway, he says: "I came down a rokky hill, full of faire springs of water, and on this rokky Hill is set a longe streate, as a suburb to the Cyte;" and it is possible that the surface quarries seen by Leland may have been opened by the Romans, or they may have tunnelled from an opening on the slope, and extracted stone far below the surface, where the quality, both of slate and stone, is generally the best. There is nothing improbable in work having been carried on by them underground, the appearance of some of the Roman carved work showing indications in its texture as having been obtained from these finer beds which are not found in open quarries. The Catacombs at Rome demonstrate how well they would execute such work. The votive altars to be seen in the Bath Museum are made of stone from the quarries on the "Fosse-way," and they were probably erected during the second century.

There were many Roman walls within the city boundary in which large blocks of the oolite stone could be found; but there is certainly no better evidence of the massive stonework which, under the Roman dispensation, found a permanent resting-place, than around our mineral springs. It is strange, however, that there is but little evidence of the mason's mark on the masonry. Under the United Hospital a Roman wall exists in which there are several blocks, and on one of which may be seen the earliest mark in Bath, viz., the letter "T."

To bring large blocks of stone to the city required a large number of men and sledges, and the native Britons were doubtless enforced to supply the manual labour: just as, in earlier days, the men whom the Egyptians had made captive were employed to build the Pyramids.

We can trace the course with ease: from Bloomfield

Road direct to the city they would traverse Holloway, or Haulway, thence to the forum over a bridge, situated exactly where the Old Bridge stands to-day. There is evidence that quarries existed at Entry Hill, as well as on the slopes of Beechen Cliff, but at the latter place few traces remain of any quarrying. Though the excavations at the former are large, there is no evidence of working earlier than 150 years ago. During the Saxon occupation, and when Ceaulin took possession of the city, and made it an appendage to the kingdom of Wessex, it is probable that in devastating the city he destroyed many of the architectural ornaments originally raised by Roman labour; and much of the stonework was incorporated with the walls to strengthen the bulwarks of the city, and employed in the monastic buildings.

The Saxons were not noteworthy as builders, or architects, or roadmakers, but it is to their credit that in 976 they raised a stately cathedral in Bath. The stone for this cathedral, to a large extent, was taken from the ruined buildings which the Romans had left behind when they evacuated the country. The Saxons had, therefore, at hand a quarry fully developed and ready for use, just as the Turks had when they became masters of Greece, and despoiled the Parthenon and other masterpieces of Grecian art in order to build a wall or repair a dwelling.

Edgar was crowned the first King of United England in the Cathedral at Bath, and from far and near the monks came to witness the grand ceremonial: an event that will ever rank amongst the most important annals of the city.

The city contains few specimens of Norman architecture. Wood has stated that two Norman churches existed in the early part of the eighteenth century, but all traces of them have long since disappeared. William Rufus, the destroyer of the city, sold the remains and his domain to John de Vilula, a French physician from Tours. This interesting personage combined the position of chaplain and physician to William Rufus, through whose influence he obtained the appointment of Bishop of Bath, and afterwards of Wells, the two titles being conjoined. He built a Norman abbey of an extent

far exceeding that of the present structure, and restored the city baths. It is probable that he took the stone required from the vestiges alike of Roman and Saxon buildings.

John de Vilula acquired the King's legal rights in property, subject, of course, to the laws in force. His son built a little Norman church in Holloway, outside the city, while his father was building the abbey.

Little can be said of the buildings during the Middle Ages, and therefore of the use of Bath Oolite within the city; indeed, there is no evidence, with the exception of the abbey, of any great architectural effort being made from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century; even the abbey in 1539 was incomplete, the Norman structure having long ceased to exist. However, in the country around there exist many notable examples of architecture. That dwellings existed in the town is indubitable; yet, for the most part, they were but paltry thatched houses, of little note and of short duration. Around the Baths there were, however, a few buildings of a superior type, which were occupied by medical practitioners and others: who not only gave professional advice to those who came to take the waters, but provided accommodation for them also.

Pepys, the prince of gossips, came to Bath in 1668, and records that he walked round the walls of the city and saw fair stone houses, probably those residences of the medical men who made handsome fortunes. The mediæval Guildhall then stood in the centre of High Street.

In 1569, the Corporation, following the example of the past, took the stone for its erection from the "Palles," or Palace, and Abbey buildings, situated on the south side of the Abbey, and even from the partially-built Abbey itself. In the Abbey buildings thus demolished had resided that great Oriental scholar "Adelard," to whom we owe the introduction of Euclid into Europe; and where Ælfheah, who succeeded Æthelwold as Bishop of Winchester, assumed in his youth the religious habit, and lived secluded in his cell.

When Inigo Jones visited Bath, the authorities took

advantage of his presence to obtain new designs for the Guildhall, which were afterwards carried out. It is probable that on its demolition, and the erection of the present structure in 1777, that some of this stone was again utilised. Thus we have a singular succession from the Romans to the present day.

Two men are conspicuous and renowned as the successful pioneers of the great industry of extracting splendid building stone from the vast Oolitic deposit: the one being Ralph Allen, the other John Wood. Ralph Allen came to Bath in 1715. Four years afterwards, at the age of twenty-six, he established the system of bye- and cross-posts, which is the foundation of our present postal system.

Foreseeing the enormous possibilities when supply of valuable building stone was developed, Ralph Allen, being a shrewd and thorough business man, determined to re-open the quarries on Combe Down, which had been worked only partially for many years, and subsequently to develop the deposits on Hampton Down. He was ably seconded by John Wood, who achieved fame as an architect. What Wood aimed at was a fine and effective architectural alignment as a foundation. His genius is stamped on the many edifices, streets, squares, and crescents in which the citizens of Bath now live and glory, and command the admiration of visitors from all parts of the world. The stone was taken by water, says Kilver, to Bristol, Liverpool, London, and Ireland, and even so far as Lisbon, and other parts of Europe.

Wood's grand conceptions did not find favour amongst his contemporaries, and they were executed at a great financial risk, and in the teeth of keen opposition. But, when his palatial designs were embodied in Bath stone, the nobility and gentry which made a temporary home in Bath, delighted to inhabit the houses which had been erected under his supervision. It was chiefly due to him that the efforts of Beau Nash to make the city a resort for pleasure-seekers, as well as invalids, were crowned with a success which is unique in the city's history.

For years this Bath stone had been worked largely for minor ornamental purposes in gardens and courtyards.

Wood mentions quarries existing in the Lansdown side of Bath, but traces of them do not exist now. In 1725, just after the Avon had been rendered navigable to Bristol, Allen commenced quarrying in earnest. One of the first residences erected in the city was the house occupied by Beau Nash, now the "Garrick's Head." (The profuseness of the ornaments, says Wood, tempted Nash to make it his first residence.) After Nash's removal to the one next door, it was occupied by Mrs. Delany and Miss Berry. At that time this was a very good advertisement for Bath stone.

Allen's town house was next erected, a part of which still remains. Afterwards Wood built the North and South Parades, the former being called "The Grand Parade," which were rendered famous by Sheridan's play, *The Rivals*, the houses in them being occupied at different periods by many men and women of eminence : Goldsmith, Wordsworth, and Edmund Burke are some of the great men who sojourned in the North Parade. The South Parade was the dwelling-place of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale and Frances Burney, where Dr. Johnson and Boswell visited them ; of Sir Walter Scott when a lad ; of John Wilkes, and of the Princess Amelia. In Pierre-point Street, which runs between them, Lord Chesterfield passed several years, and wrote the "Letters to his Son ;" there Quin, the wit and actor, ended his days, while Nelson lived in a house adjoining when he visited Bath for the recovery of his health. In this street lived Linley, the accomplished musician, and here his eldest daughter saw the light—the Miss Linley who was celebrated in prose and verse as the "Maid of Bath ;" who became the wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan ; who had no rival in her day as a vocalist ; and whose lovely features were immortalised by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his portrait of her as "Saint Cecilia."

Subsequent buildings designed by Wood were Gay Street, in which Jane Austen's mother lived, and where she was married ; Queen Square, in which, at No. 13, Jane Austen abode for a time, and the Circus, which despite the disparagement of Smollett, is a fine specimen of architecture. The second Lord Stanhope and the elder



PRIOR PARK, BATH.

Pitt, and the famous Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, were amongst the first occupiers of the Circus; Pitt commissioned Wood to erect Nos. 7 and 8. Lord Clive, after his return from India, broken down in health, took up his residence here; and, subsequently, the ill-fated Major André's family resided here; while Gainsborough painted at No. 24 many notable pictures which made his name famous.

Noblemen at this period thought it incumbent upon them to possess a Bath residence in the Circus: the Dukes of Beaufort, Monmouth, Kingston, Chandos, Bedford, and Marlborough, all had mansions.

Being intent upon showing the capabilities of Bath stone, Ralph Allen arranged in 1737 for the erection of a stately residence on Widcombe, at "Prior Park." In the erection of this stately pile, says Wood, 800 tons were used in the foundations, and 30,000 tons in the superstructure. Everywhere in the building, even to the sash-bars of the basement windows, Bath stone was used, as can be verified to-day. The building, from wing to wing, extends over a quarter of a-mile. One wing was devoted to the administrative department and the postal work. Prior Park was the centre of the great network of cross-posts which Allen instituted, and which brought him great profit and reputation.

While Nash in the city itself set the fashion and conducted the entertainments, Allen entertained many men of note in the political and literary world; among them being Bishop Warburton, who became his son-in-law. Sterne, Fielding, and the elder Pitt, who was then one of the members of Parliament for the city, delighted in it as a pleasant retreat. Allen was indebted to Pitt for the suggestion of the erection of a Palladian bridge, which forms a picturesque feature in the grounds.

Pope found comfortable and congenial quarters at Prior Park. He writes: "I am here in more leisure than I can possibly enjoy in my own home." Philip Thickness describes Ralph Allen's mansion "as a noble seat which sees all Bath, and which was built probably for all Bath to see." Again, Thickness in his censorious strain says: "Allen was gaining a princely fortune by digging stone

from the bowels of the earth, while in his post-office contract he has actually picked it off the surface." Allen exercised all his faculties in the development of the trade in stone; he built cottages for the workmen near their work, some of which remain to-day, and in every conceivable way he increased the output. He established tramways to convey the stone from Hampton Down and Combe Down to the wharves—a system which has not been altered since, nor can it be improved upon.

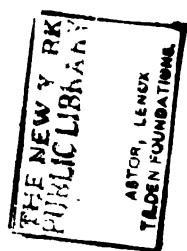
During this century the Assembly Rooms, Pump Room, the new Guildhall, Mineral Water Hospital, Grammar School, and Royal Crescent were built, giving an immense impetus to the quarrying on Combe Down.

Baldwin, another architect, followed in Wood's footsteps, and in Pulteney Street and other buildings in Bathwick established a reputation second to few. The famous Pulteney Bridge over the Avon, with shops above, forming the most curious bridge in the kingdom, is of Bath stone.

In the neighbourhood of Box Hill, both above and below Brunel's famous tunnel, oolite has been extracted in large quantities, even so far back as Saxon times. Haselbury Quarre, or Quarry, has been identified as the place where the stone was taken for building Malmesbury Abbey 1100 years ago, and it is an interesting fact that to-day the stone is being quarried for the purposes of its restoration. This is truly remarkable evidence of historical continuity, so far as the stone is concerned. The tradition of the discovery of the famous stone at Box, known as Box Ground, is not generally known. According to the legend, St. Ealdhelm, a man of distinguished piety and virtue, being about to found the Abbey at Malmesbury, he indicated, by throwing down his glove, the spot where stone might be found; or, to use the words of Aubrey, the learned Wiltshire antiquary: "Haselbury Quarre (*i.e.*, Box) is not to be forgott; it is the eminentest free-stone quarry in the West of England, Malmesbury, and all round the country of it. The old men's story that St. Ealdhelm riding over there threw downe his glove and bade them digge, and they should find great treasure, meaning the quarry." Little did this learned prelate

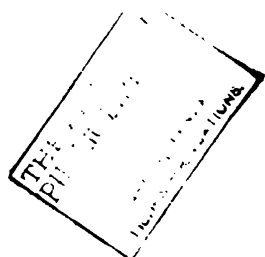


COMBE DOWN, BATH.
 Showing Mr. Allen's Free-Stone Quarry and Wharf.
From a Map by Thomas Thorpe, 1742.





HASELBURY "QUABRE" BOX.





SAXON CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.



MALMESBURY ABBEY.



think that the great treasure which Brunel also accidentally assisted to discover should still be worked after the lapse of eleven hundred years. St. Ealdhelm also built the little church of St. Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon, probably the most perfect specimen of Saxon architecture in this country, of which the learned Professor Freeman says:—"This, the one surviving old English church in the land," and probably the oldest English church in the land. The stone for this building was quarried from Haselbury.

The quarries near Box have supplied stone for the erection of many other noteworthy and historic buildings. Among them are Lacock Abbey, and such magnificent mansions as Longleat, Shockerwick, Bowood, and Corsham Court.

The Augustinian Abbey of Lacock is situated in an old Wiltshire town, about three miles south of Chippenham, on the high road between Bath and London. Lacock Abbey is of historical importance. It was founded in 1232 by Ela, wife and widow of the Norman Earl of Salisbury. Seven years after its foundation, she herself became its Abbess.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Bath in 1574, she stayed at the Abbey on her way thither.

Lacock Abbey was fortified and garrisoned for the King during the Great Rebellion. It was besieged in 1645 by Parliamentary troops, and the garrison was forced to surrender on honourable terms. This structure is one of the best examples of a building of Bath stone, though much of the present building, and surrounding outbuildings, are sixteenth-century work. Mr. Breakspear states that the Abbey buildings were constructed with rubble walls of hard stone, and dressings of free-stone, and was supplied from the Haselbury quarry, in the Manor of Box. In the Lacock *Cartulary*, preserved at the Abbey, "Henry Cook, or Crook, gives to the convent the quarry, between the lands of Sampson, Lord of the Manor of Boxe, and Walter Campedene, with the liberty of ingress and egress so long as it lasts." This quarry in 1241 was an open one, with an adit or tunnel into the sides of the hill over the present Box tunnel.

Probably, this portion of Henry Crook's domains became worked out, for one Robert Abbot, of Stanley, in Wiltshire, whose abbey was built with stone from the same quarry, gave to the said convent one part of his quarry at Haselbury, "being in length 76 ft., and in width that which was theirs, and they may take as much stone as they can from that place in exchange for the other quarry that the convent bought of Henry Crook."

The beautiful Renaissance mansion, Longleat House, the seat of the Marquis of Bath, was built with Box stone in the sixteenth century, John of Padua being the reputed architect. It will ever be remembered as the safe retreat for twenty years of the saintly Bishop Ken.

Shockerwick is another residence built by Wood, close to Box. It was while visiting this house, to view an extensive collection of Gainsborough pictures, that William Pitt received, in 1804, the eventful news of the disaster at Austerlitz. He could not survive the shock, and passed away in less than two months afterwards.

The stone has been used within recent times on many important buildings, as Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and parts of Windsor Castle, Apsley House—the gift of the nation to the great Duke of Wellington, which is cased in Bath stone—and portions were used in the construction of Buckingham and Lambeth Palaces.

The construction of Box Tunnel led to the re-working of the famous beds of oolite in the Wilts. district, and what was doubtless looked upon as an unnecessary work, on the part of Brunel, has proved one of the most valuable assets of the Great Western Railway. It is probable that the enormous quantities of stone sent from this district yearly pay the railway company a handsome interest on the large sum of money involved in the construction of this Tunnel. One would not be far out in stating that nearly three million cubic feet of stone are dug and sent from the Bath district yearly.

I conclude by adding with pride, as a Bathonian, that Colonial architects value Bath stone so highly that it is exported to Canada and South Africa, and has been extensively used for large public buildings in those countries.

British Archaeological Association.

SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS, BATH, 1904.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 8TH, 1904.

The sixty-first Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association opened at Bath, on Monday, August 8th, in brilliant weather. The members and friends assembled at the Guildhall at 3 P.M., when the Mayor (Major C. H. Simpson) accorded them a hearty welcome to the historic city, and referred to the fact that most of the citizens choose the month of August for betaking themselves to the seaside or the moor, as accounting for the absence of many who would otherwise have joined in the welcome.

Mr. R. E. Leader, President of the Association, suitably replied, after which the Guildhall was inspected. The building is interesting, as forming one link in the chain of the eighteenth-century architecture of the city, and contains one or two good portraits, notably that of Beau Nash in the Mayor's Parlour. The proportions of the Council Chamber are fine, and the decoration simple but effective.

The Abbey Church was next inspected, and its history and architecture described by the Rev. C. W. Shickle, Hon. Local Secretary, and the Rev. H. Maynard. The Abbey, as it now exists, is noteworthy as being all built at once in the very latest Perpendicular style. The fan-vaulting throughout—i.e., in nave, choir, and transept, which was completed at the last restoration—imparts a heavy look to the building, although the effect from the west end is undoubtedly striking.

The square top to the east window is curious, if not unique, and the straight line across the wall immediately below the vaulting is hardly pleasing to the eye. The few remains of the Norman building, planned by John de Villula, show that it must have been of magnificent proportions, but are not sufficient to convey any real idea of its appearance.

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist was then visited. This was founded in the year 1170; but, unfortunately, nothing ancient now

remains except some fragments of the original rood-screen of the chapel, which had been built into the roof in later times. The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to a perambulation of the town, with the view of obtaining a general notion of the characteristics of the architecture of Bath and the outline of the Roman and mediæval city, which the modern town now smothers in its vastly-extended boundaries.

In the evening a *conversazione* was held, by the kind invitation of the Mayor, in the Old Pump Room, which remains to-day very much as it was when Beau Nash was Master of the Ceremonies, and it was the fashionable thing to go to Bath "to take the waters." More than two hundred guests assembled to partake of the Mayor's hospitality, and to listen to the President's Inaugural Address, which has been printed, pp. 1-10.

After an inspection of the objects of interest found in the course of excavating the Roman baths, including the case containing the beautiful intaglios, of which more than thirty were found together in the Roman culvert, and which one would like to see in the British Museum, an adjournment was made to the Roman Promenade, as the ancient bath is now called.

The fountain was in full play, and the electric flash-light, with its vari-coloured slides, gave, no doubt, a pleasing effect, although it somewhat marred the illusion under which the spectator would fain transport himself back to the days when *Aquæ Solis* was one of the most important cities of Roman Britain, and this bath, so wonderfully preserved, was the favourite resort of its citizens. Here, taking his stand on a large stone, from which the Roman swimmers may have flung themselves into the water, Mr. Alderman R. H. Moore gave the following account of "Roman Bath and its Baths:—

"The city of Bath in Roman times and occupation was far more circumscribed than now; a wall enclosed it with an area of about 480 yards north to south, and 500 yards east to west. The line of the enclosed streets has been preserved, and we have our Northgate, Southgate, and Westgate Streets, and although no Eastgate exists, yet a still better evidence of the east gate remains in a staple in the wall at the rear of the Empire Hotel, upon which it was hung. The Roman conquerors would not have been likely to settle in this valley of the Avon, but for its abundant thermal springs. Their use was a part of their worship, and 1,900 years ago this valley must have been a hive of industry in the building of these large baths and the splendid temples which surrounded them. The Corporation of Bath has shown considerable enterprise in preserving the ruins of these ancient monu-

ments. The late Major Davis spent all his energies in discovering and recording them, and his successor, Mr. A. J. Taylor, has shown considerable ability in arranging the fine specimens of Roman architecture which now adorn the annexed museum. It is tolerably certain that during the Roman occupation, from the reign of Claudius, A.D. 54, until about A.D. 410, the area of the baths and gardens to the river Avon measured six or seven acres. The Corporation of to-day has the monopoly of the thermal springs and baths, which cover an area of about one-and-a-half acre. The Romans in the use of the waters and in the rearing of their buildings had every facility for their pleasure and comfort, and the building materials close at hand. The famous Bath stone lies in the hills around us; the lead was obtained from the Mendips, about twenty miles from this spot; and their fires were fed by the coal of the district. This bath around which we gather is the largest and finest specimen of Roman work this side of the Alps. It is one of a series of five large swimming-baths which have been uncovered: three are in a line with each other; the Lucas, the one around which we stand, and the circular bath in the annex running from east to west; one large bath is under the Queen's Baths; and the fifth is under Stall Street, over which our electric trams run. The bath before us stands in a hall, measuring 110 ft. by 68 ft.; 14 ft. is used for the scholæ or platforms surrounding the bath itself, the water surface of which is 82 ft. by 40 ft. The bath is 5 ft. 9 ins. deep, with six steps leading to its floor, which is to-day covered by lead plates of Roman manufacture, measuring 10 ft. by 5 ft., the edges burnt, not soldered together, and the material weighing 30 lbs. to the foot. The Romans, through the wide and peculiar inlet pipe, specimens of which are before us, conveyed the hot water from the reservoir of the adjoining spring; and in the adjoining museum there exists at the foot of the spring itself a spot with steps, discovered by the late Major Davis, which was used for a drinking-place, as flagons, cups, ornaments, a gold pin with a pearl mount, and a gold earring were found there. A Roman lead pipe of about 50 ft. runs in a trench in the north schola to the centre of the bath, and this pipe originally passed through the circular hole in the stone pedestal upon the northern steps of the bath now in position, conveying cold spring water to the bathers, either for douching or drinking purposes. This pipe contains no mineral water incrustation. The Roman culvert, constructed of massive stones, runs from the drinking-place through two fine arches of Roman brickwork, and conveys the outflow from the great bath through York Street to the river. In this culvert the late Major Davis found some fine specimens of engraved stones used as seals by the Roman visitors, and this

is very good evidence that the lapidary shops were in connection with the baths. These intaglios have been mounted for us by the authorities of the British Museum, and are now displayed in the Pump Room cases. This late hour of the evening prevents me from enlarging on the roofing of this bath and the Roman reservoir from which it is filled. We are grateful to our Roman conquerors for the noble remains which they left in the midst of our city. They are a splendid heritage; but we are still more grateful to the beneficent Providence which pours these healing waters into our city, half a million gallons every day, at a temperature of from 104 to 110 degrees—waters which have healed thousands of our suffering men and women in this and in past ages."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9TH, 1904.

The second day of the Congress was occupied with visits to Great Chalfield, Bradford-on-Avon, Farleigh Hungerford, and Hinton Charterhouse. Starting at 9.30 a.m., the party found the drive to Great Chalfield a most refreshing change from the heat and dust of the city. On the way a good view was obtained of South Wraxall Manor, a fine Elizabethan building, but time did not permit of its being visited.

The objects of interest at Great Chalfield are the church and the manor-house. The former is a quaint little building, consisting of a small nave and chancel, with a large chapel to the south, which almost dwarfs the main fabric. The chancel-screen is of stone, and is a good example of its period—Perpendicular. Unfortunately, the walls throughout the church are thickly covered with white and yellow wash, and the pews, pulpit, and altar are beggarly in the extreme. The western door has a large hood-mould, which almost forms a small porch. The manor-house, now used as a farm, is moated, and is a magnificent specimen of its date, about 1470, i.e. the reign of Edward IV. The eastern wing is gone with the exception of the north front, which is perfect, and contains an elaborate and beautiful oriel window, which formerly gave light to the guest chamber.

At Bradford-on-Avon the parish church was described by the vicar, the Rev. S. G. Collisson, and the Saxon Chapel by Mr. W. J. A. Adye, under whose supervision it was restored, and who loves every stone of it. Mr. Adye wisely refrained from committing himself to dates, although he spoke of the building as being 1,000 years old, and of the possibility of its floor having been trodden by King Alfred. The Rev. Dr. Astley—who agrees with Prof. Baldwin Brown, that the building, as it now exists, is not Aldhelm's original *ecclesiola*, men-

tioned by William of Malmesbury, but a later restoration of the time of Dunstan, *i.e.*, that the architecture is not that of the early eighth but of the late tenth century: about 975, and not 705—was unfortunately prevented from giving his reasons by a touch of sunstroke, and his Paper was deferred to an evening meeting.

Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., then conducted the party to Bradford Old Hall, of which only the exterior could be viewed, and to the tithe-barn and Old Bridge Chapel; after which the drive was continued to Farleigh Hungerford. This must have been an extensive and important castle in the days of the early Hungerfords, but little remains of it now beyond the gateway, the curtain wall in some parts, and two of the eight turrets which it originally possessed. Its most interesting feature is the chapel, which contains, besides a fine series of tombs of the Hungerfords, a good collection of seventeenth-century armour, some chain-armour of the fourteenth century, and some beautiful old carved oak, besides an autograph letter of Oliver Cromwell, dated 1652.

At Hinton Charterhouse the party were met by Mr. Foxcroft, and conducted round the ruins, which consist practically of only two blocks, the so-called "chapter-house" and the refectory. It is remarkable that the former, if the chapter-house, should have been much more elaborately finished at the east end than at the other, and that the east end should not only be marked off from the rest by a distinct break in the groining of the roof, but should have an aumbry on the north side and a very fine double piscina on the south. Moreover, there are no traces of any seating round the walls. In the opinion of Mr. Leader, and others of the party, it is much more likely to have been a chapel than the chapter-house; but whatever it was, its fine groined roof and beautiful lancets form a striking example of the Early English style at its best. The church has entirely disappeared; so have the cloisters and monastic cells, and no excavations have yet been undertaken to determine their position or arrangement; but they must have been on the usual Carthusian plan. Hinton was founded by Ela, Countess of Shrewsbury, about 1227, and is one of the nine charterhouses of that Order.

At the evening meeting in the hotel a Paper was read by Mr. Sturge Cotterell on "Bath Stone," which has been printed, pp. 49-60; and a lecture was given by Mr. Mowbray Green on "Eighteenth-Century Architecture in Bath," illustrated with a complete series of lantern views, which, it is hoped, will be printed.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch moved a vote of thanks to the readers of the papers, and, referring more particularly to Mr. Cotterell's, remarked that he had been struck with the diligence of architects and masons in

always endeavouring to keep the stratification of the stone in a horizontal position. Occasionally, but very rarely, from inadvertence, the stone had been used with the strata in a vertical formation, and, under such circumstances, the stone did not seem to resist the weather so well. The same thing was noticeable in the use of the red sandstone in the neighbourhood of Liverpool.

Mr. Patrick, A.R.I.B.A., seconded the proposition, and, in reply to the mover, said architects always specified that the stone should be laid upon its proper bed, in order that it might be more lasting.

The vote was adopted with unanimity, and suitably acknowledged by Mr. Mowbray Green and Mr. Cotterell, the latter saying that his view entirely agreed with that which Mr. Patrick had expressed. Bath stone, if it was laid upon its proper bed, was as good a stone for wearing as they could get. Sometimes, ignorant masons failed to place it the right way. But it was generally understood that it is essential that Bath stone should be laid on its natural bed.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10TH, 1904.

On Wednesday morning, August 10th, the members and friends started in considerably increased numbers, in brakes and carriages, to visit Lacock Abbey. The route taken led through this picturesque village of Box, and on past "Hazelbury Quarre," and the villages of Pickwick and Corsham.

The first stop was made at Box, and the church was visited, the party being met by the rector, the Rev. W. White, who described the building, and the restoration which has been carried out during his incumbency, which commenced in 1896. The church consists of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles, and is for the most part of the Decorated period, the south arcade being particularly good. The restoration has been lovingly and carefully executed, the galleries which disfigured the west end and the aisles having been swept away. There is a central tower, which is supported on four low Decorated arches; and as the chancel is somewhat long, and the appearance of the east end from the nave gave rather the impression of viewing the altar through a tunnel, the latter has been moved a few feet westward, a reredos in keeping with the church has been erected, and a vestry constructed behind, where, in old days, the processional passage might have been, as at Tideswell, in Derbyshire. A curious little stone coffin, evidently intended for an infant, was discovered during the restoration on the south side of the external wall of the chancel, near the priest's door; and with this a legend is connected, which tells how,

in the fourteenth century, the lady of the manor longed for an heir, who was snatched from her in the hour of his birth. This is now built into the wall over the door.

At "Hazelbury Quarre" a good view was obtained of one of the most famous of the Bath stone quarries, which supply the material which gives to the city and neighbourhood the solid and substantial look that all the houses, even the cottages, possess.

At Corsham there is a fine church, consisting of nave, aisles, transept and chancel, and, originally, a central tower. This has, unfortunately, been removed, and a modern tower and spire have been erected over the south porch, which lend an ungainly appearance to the exterior. The aisles are separated from the nave by low Norman piers with small arches, the two easternmost of which were thrown into one early in the nineteenth century, to the great detriment of the architectural character of the building. A small chapel formerly occupied the east end of the north aisle, and the screen which separated it from the main building still exists. A small portion of the original rood-screen is now built into the south wall of the chancel over the priest's door.

At Lacock the party were met at the church by Mr. O. H. Talbot, the present lord of the manor, who gave a most interesting account of the history and architecture of the building, of which space only permits a brief *résumé* here. Taking his stand on the chancel steps, Mr. Talbot explained that the church was of much earlier foundation than the abbey, having been erected by Robert of Gloucester in the troubled times of Stephen, about 1140. The Norman building had, however, completely disappeared, although evidences of its existence were to be found in the fact that in the sixteenth century rebuilders of that date used the old Norman stones in their work. The earliest part of the present building dated from the fourteenth century, of which the north transept was a good example. The south transept and the south and east walls were rebuilt in 1875. The lower part of the tower showed some signs of thirteenth-century work, but the whole was much pulled about in the fourteenth century. The north aisle was originally vaulted, but this arrangement had been altered to a flat roof. The Lady Chapel dated from 1430, which was proved from the fact that it contains the arms of Robert Nevill, who was Bishop of Salisbury from 1427 to 1437. The barrel roof to the nave was earlier than the chancel arch, the tympanum of which was occupied by a curious Perpendicular window. Over this were carvings of angels, some flying upwards, some down, as in Bishop Oliver King's representation of "Jacob's Ladder" on the west front of Bath Abbey.

The present chancel dated from 1777. There was a fine monument to Sir William Sherington, who bought the abbey and manor from Henry VIII, and died in 1553.

The afternoon was devoted to a perambulation of the remains of Lacock Abbey, under the guidance of Mr. Talbot, who not only allowed the visitors to see all that was left of that famous establishment, but also threw open the house to inspection. Lacock Abbey is sometimes spoken of as unique, and it is so in this respect: that, whereas there are usually some remains of the monastic church while the buildings have for the most part perished, in this case the church has entirely disappeared, with the exception of the north wall of the nave, while the buildings are almost intact, and incorporated in the sixteenth-century mansion.

The abbey was founded in 1232 by Ela, Countess of Shrewsbury, and widow of William Longespée, for Augustinian canonesses; and, according to the *Book of Lacock*, it was on the same day that she founded the Carthusian Priory of Hinton Charterhouse, although some accounts assign that foundation to 1227. The entry in the *Book of Lacock* runs: "Primo mane apud Lacock et Hinton post nonam." This would be quite possible, as the two places are only eighteen miles apart.

The north wall of the church is now the south front of the mansion, behind which runs the south side of the cloisters, which are complete; as are also the chapel and chapter-house, while the dormitory on the north side of the cloisters now forms part of the house. The chapel is in exactly the same position as the remaining building at Hinton Charterhouse, viz., between the church and chapter-house, which goes to prove that that building, with its arrangements for the celebration of divine service, is in reality also a chapel, as it is correctly described in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, and not the chapter-house, as it has been erroneously called of late.

The prevailing architecture is of the Early English style, though there are later additions both of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods, especially in the cloisters. The central column and vaulted roof of the chapter-house are particularly beautiful. In the latter Mr. Talbot has arranged a museum of fragments of architectural details, some of them of exquisite design, found in the process of excavation and restoration. The calefactory, which is also complete, contains a large cistern, probably for the storage of water, and a fine fireplace. The greater part of the roofs are of the time of Sir William Sherington, and are the earliest known examples of the "truss-and-tie" system. In the grounds is a magnificent brazen tripod, probably

intended for the warming of wine, which bears an inscription stating that it was made at Mechlin in 1500 by Peter de Waghevens. Professor Hamelius, a delegate from the Société d'Archéologie of Brussels, with whose company the Association was honoured throughout the Congress, recognised the tripod as of true Flemish workmanship, and undertook to discover its actual purpose on his return home. He advised that it should be placed under cover, which Mr. Talbot said he had long intended to do. Over the south cloister now runs a long gallery, containing many fine pictures and portraits of Mr. Talbot's ancestors, from Sir William Sherington downwards; and in the muniment room the party were shown the Great Charter of Henry III, most carefully preserved, being one of six original copies. The date is 1225, and this copy was sent to Ela, the foundress of the Abbey, in virtue of her position as Sheriff of the county of Wiltshire, for the use of the knights and military tenants of the county. The charter was read by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, who explained that it was an extension and confirmation of John's "*Magna Charta*." It is remarkable that it should have escaped the perils of the Dissolution, and descended uninjured to the present day.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Talbot, on the motion of the President, for the great kindness with which he had received and entertained the members of the Association, of which he is a life-member.¹

At the evening meeting a paper was read by Mr. F. Bligh Bond on "*West of England Rood-Screens*," illustrated with numerous lantern views. "*Rood-screens*," said the lecturer, "*are objects of the greatest interest, both historically and as symbolic of religious ideas.*" Confining himself to West of England examples, he said that the Church of England had scrupulously preserved the distinction between the nave and the chancel; and from the earliest time records were found of the veil, or screen, or wall, as at Bradford-on-Avon, being employed to mark the division. There was no real screen-work until the fourteenth century. As an example of the square-headed type, the screen at Bridgewater was shown. This has now been removed from its original position, and is on the north side of the chancel. The work is very massive, and the details show that it was done late in the fourteenth century. The fine screen at Dunster Priory Church belongs to the same period. At Wellow there is a beautiful fifteenth-century screen. Examples of perfect rood-lofts remaining in Wiltshire were shown;

¹ Mr. Talbot has kindly promised to furnish a Paper on Lacock Abbey for the next Part of the *Journal*, embodying his lecture on the occasion of the visit.

and, for comparison, some types were exhibited which are met with in Devon.

The fact that so few rood-screens, comparatively, remain—about 2,000 out of the 14,000 ancient parish churches in England, of which 200 are in Norfolk alone—was due to the Puritan excesses far more than to the Reformation, in the opinion of the lecturer; but to this the President entered a *caveat*, remarking that the neglect and ignorance of parsons, churchwardens, and people in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries accounted for more of the havoc wrought than all the disturbances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries put together.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11TH, 1904.

Thursday, August 11th, opened with rain, which, however, was rather a relief after the intense heat and dust of the previous days. In spite of the rain, a goodly party started in carriages for a visit to the neighbouring villages of Bitton, Siston, Pucklechurch and Dyrham.

At Bitton the church was inspected under the guidance of Canon Ellacombe, the rector. This church is remarkable even now for the length of its nave, which, however, formerly extended 10 ft. further to the west, and the chancel seems short in comparison. The roof of the chancel is higher than that of the nave. The foundation of the church was very early, dating, according to Freeman, from the fifth century. Of this Saxon church there are no remains, although there are traces of "long-and-short" work in the north wall of the nave round one of the later windows. There are, however, two fragments of a very rude stone rood, consisting of one arm of the cross with extended hand, and the head inclined to the left, which may have come from the Saxon church. The chancel arch is a modern reproduction of the original eleventh-century Norman arch. The north doorway of the nave, and the south doorway, now blocked up, are of good twelfth-century Norman work.

There was an Early English chantry in the north aisle, and a large four-light window in the south wall, inserted in the time of Edward VI, marks the opening into a south chantry chapel, then pulled down. The north chantry was dedicated in 1299, as is proved by a deed in the Bishop's Registry at Exeter, and the tower was completed in 1370-1371, as is shown by a deed recently found in the Vatican, which confirms the opinion held by Canon Ellacombe's father from architectural evidence. The tracery of the west window exactly corresponds with William of Wykeham's window at Winchester, while the east window is like that of St. Mary Redcliffe. The hood-moulding over

the west doorway terminates in the effigies of Edward III and Queen Philippa.

There are only two noticeable things about Siston Church. One is the Norman leaden font, which is circular, and contains figures of apostles and foliage, under Norman arches in alternate panels. This is one of twenty-seven leaden fonts which are known to exist in England. The other is an interesting Norman tympanum, showing the Tree of Life, over the south door.

A visit was paid to Siston Court, which is a fine Tudor manor house, built on three sides round a courtyard, with angle-turrets at the turn of the wings. The great hall has a good Jacobean mantelpiece, supported by caryatids, representing the god of plenty and the goddess of gardens, and is dated 1620. Queen Anne of Denmark paid a visit here in 1614.

The drive was continued to Pucklechurch, where was situated the palace of the West Saxon kings, the site of which is pointed out in a field not far from the church. Here, on May 26th, in the year 946, was enacted the tragedy in which, as Florence of Worcester says:—"Edmund, the great king of England, was stabbed to death at the royal vill by Leof, a ruffianly thief, while attempting to defend his steward from being murdered by the robber."

Edmund's body was carried to Glastonbury, and buried by St. Dunstan, the Abbot. Here also took place a notable miracle, by which a boy whose eyes had been put out had his sight restored on the intercession of St. Aldhelm, as recorded by William of Malmesbury in the fifth book of his *Gesta Pontificum*. The church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, which probably explains the name—it is the church of "La Pucelle," the Maid. The north aisle contains two fine monuments and a window of the fifteenth century, which have been described as "flamboyant"; but Professor Hamelius considered the tracery scarcely flowing enough to be so described.

After lunch the party proceeded to Dyrham, where they were received by the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt, the rector and squire, whose son, the Rev. W. E. Blaythwayt, read the following notes upon the building: "The church looks a very simple one at first sight, but detailed inspection points to many interesting, and some doubtful, features. In the main it is Perpendicular. The font is Norman. The next earliest part is the clustered pillar, with similar respond, on the west side of the last arch of the arcade between the north aisle and nave, and dates from 1280. There is no chancel arch, but a piece of the wall on the south side shows where the rood-loft went. The corresponding wall on the north has been cut away to allow for

the insertion of the Jacobean pulpit. This pulpit was lowered at the time of the restoration in 1877, when the rest of the three-decker was altered. There was some Perpendicular woodwork in front of the reading-desk, which unfortunately was burnt, owing to a fire at the builder's in Bath.

"The south aisle is the most interesting. There was a chantry chapel, and to the west is the fine brass of Sir Morys and Lady Russell, 1401. The brass is engraved in Boutell's series. Subsequently, the aisle was lengthened both ways, though not possibly at once. The Perpendicular east and west windows may have been put in again. Between the third and fourth window in the south wall is a space now occupied by a mural monument to Mary, wife of W. Blaythwayt, and her parents. This was most likely left for the fine freestone canopied tomb with the recumbent effigies of George Wynter and his wife, Ann Brain, 1581. This seems to have been removed eastward in front of the last window, to allow for the placing of the above-mentioned monument. The south windows, as well as those in the north aisle (north wall), are square-headed, those in the south aisle having a rather flat arched head inside the church. In the aisle are some good tiles. Some are as they have been for years, but others have been rearranged. Several have been copied for the chancel. There are many exactly like some uncovered at Hayles Abbey in this county, and some at Gloucester.

"In the south wall, low down, is a window, the use of which is not certain. The tower is good fifteenth-century work, with high arch into nave, a west door, and a flatter-headed door in the south wall opening into a porch. This porch is certainly not in its original position, but may have been further east before the aisle was lengthened. The aisles are flush at the east end with the chancel, that on the north being plainly longer than at first. There is a ring of six bells. One has the heads of Edward I and Eleanor, as stops between the words of the motto. The east window has four pieces of old glass—figures: St. John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and another; and in the west window of the north aisle is a quatrefoil of grisaille glass. The south aisle, or part of it, was used as a chapel for the Guild of St. Denys, which was founded by Sir William Dennis and his wife. The Guild is spoken of by Sir Robert Atkins; the existing altar being used for the services of the Guild."

A discussion arose on the subject of "low-side" windows, which led the Rev. Dr. Astley to sum up the various theories as to their purpose. These, he said, were four, viz: (1) they were "leper" windows, which idea is altogether exploded; (2) they were intended for the sacristan to ring the sanctus bell when the chantry priest

celebrated mass, that the people in the village, at work or play, might take part in the service; (3) they were intended for a light to be placed there at night, which is not probable; (4) the chantry priest, sitting within, heard the confessions of penitents kneeling outside. This was the most probable explanation of their use, for it was well known how jealous the parish priests were of the interference of the chantry priests, and they would not allow the latter to hear the confessions of their parishioners in any other way.¹

On the north wall of the nave is a fine series of small brasses, one of which exhibits the latest example of Gothic lettering known to Mr. Oliver.

The party was considerably increased at Dyrham by the presence of large numbers of the surrounding families, who were invited to meet the visitors, and all were hospitably entertained at Dyrham Park by Mr. Blathwayt.

On the drive back to Bath, the Rev. C. W. Shickle pointed out the site of Ceaulin's camp and of the battle of Dyrham, which was fought in the year 577, and gave the kingdom of Wessex to the Saxons; after which they took and destroyed the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Mr. Shickle also pointed out the site of the battle of Lansdowne, between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians in 1642, and described the tactics of the opposing forces on the spot when Sir Ralph Hopton fell. The birthplace of St. Aldhelm and the little chapel connected with St. Elphege, the murdered Archbishop of Canterbury, were also passed, on the summit of Lansdowne Hill, just before the commencement of the descent into Bath. Such old-world associations seem out of place beside the modern race-course.

At the evening meeting, Dr. Birch read a paper on "The Rise of a Great Industry"—i.e., the woollen industry—by Mr. Giberne Sieveking, in the absence of the author; and Dr. Astley read a paper on "The

¹ "Since making these remarks at Dyrham, I have had the advantage of reading a valuable monograph on 'Lowside Windows,' by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Vicar of Witton-le-Wear, Durham, which was published in *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. xxiii, pp. 43-200. In this article, after enumerating no less than fifteen conjectural purposes which have been assigned to them, the author brings forward conclusive evidence to prove that their true use and origin is to be sought in the universal mediæval belief in demons and evil spirits; and that they were intended for the exhibition of lights by night to scare the demons, and prevent them doing mischief to the bodies of departed Christian folk interred in the churchyard, even as the churchyard cross protected them by day. How real was this mediæval belief in evil spirits may be seen in Longfellow's powerful description of the demons in *The Golden Legend*; and mediæval wills abundantly testify to it, by the provisions made in them for the 'ceremonial use of lights.'"—[Note by Dr. Astley, EDITOR.]

Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon," which will be printed. His conclusion was that the building, as we see it, belongs to the great period of church restoration in the reigns of Edgar—or perhaps Ethelred—and was due to the influence of Dunstan. The church which most resembles Bradford is Dunham Magna, in Norfolk, which, however, is later still.

Dr. Birch strongly upheld the early theory for the date, basing his argument on William of Malmesbury's words; while Mr. Wigfull supported the reader of the paper, except that he would assign the date to a year *after*, rather than *before*, 1000 A.D. Dr. Astley, in reply, pointed out that what William of Malmesbury says is that "St. Aldhelm is *generally supposed* to have built a monastery at Bradford;" and adds:—"To this day (1125), at that place there exists a little church (*ecclesiola*), which he *is said* to have built in honour of the blessed St. Lawrence."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12TH, 1904.

Friday, August 12th, was occupied with visits to Glastonbury and Wells. At the former place the party were met by Prebendary Grant, and conducted round the ruins. The day was magnificent, and it was possible to gain a good idea of the glories of the Vale of Avalon in the legendary days of Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur. The Prebendary sketched the history of the famous monastery from the time of Dunstan to the Dissolution, and pointed out the principal features of the building. Mr. Patrick gave a detailed account of its architecture, which will be printed, and Dr. Astley drew attention to two points which he thought worthy of mention, viz., (1) that the intersecting Norman arches of the arcading, both on the exterior and interior of the western Lady Chapel, or Galilee, commonly but erroneously called St. Joseph's Chapel, are of exactly the same character as those on the west front of the Castle Acre Priory, Norfolk, both dating about 1085; (2) the library of this monastery was praised by Leland, who writes that when he crossed the threshold he was struck with amazement at the number and magnificence of the volumes. Most of these precious manuscripts perished, though some are in the British Museum, and some are at Longleat, even as the stones of the buildings were sold after the Dissolution for 6d. a cart-load.

At the Abbot's kitchen Dr. Astley pointed out its resemblance to the great kitchen, now the Dean's, at Durham, and also that it showed the last survival on a grand scale of the cyclopean architecture of the Celtic and Irish beehive cells. At the Museum, where are deposited the finds from the Glastonbury lake-village, Dr. Astley gave a short

account of "Lake Dwellings," and pointed out how the ornamentation on certain bone combs and other articles—viz., circles and dots, and incised lines and crosses—corresponds in every respect with the ornamentation on the finds from the Dumbuck and Langbank crannogs on the Clyde. The Glastonbury village would appear to have been for a long while in occupation, for the finds here extend from the Neolithic through the Bronze into the Iron Age.

The afternoon was devoted to Wells, but it was all too short to do justice to one tithe of what was to be seen. In the absence of Canon Church through illness, Mr. C. J. Williams conducted the party round the Bishop's Palace and grounds, and through the Vicar's Close, and Dr. Astley conducted them round the cathedral. He remarked that the sculptures on the west front formed a striking illustration of the "Te Deum," and drew special attention to the beauties of the chapter-house and Lady Chapel; he also explained the reasons for the inverted arches, or St. Andrew's cross, supporting the central tower: which, though necessary, have by no means a pleasing effect.

In the evening the members and friends attended a *conversazione* given by the Rev. C. W. Shickle and Mrs. Shickle at the Art Gallery, when the former read a paper on "The City Chamberlain's Accounts," which will be printed, and Mr. S. Sydenham gave an interesting address on "Bath Waters in Ancient and Modern Times." The City Charters were on view, and were read and explained by Dr. W. de Gray Birch. The earliest is of the time of Richard I, and gives to the citizens "all the privileges which the citizens of Winchester possess." What these were is not specified, but as Winchester was then still a royal city, they must have been considerable.

The concluding meeting of a successful Congress was held on Saturday morning, and votes of thanks were passed to the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, and to all concerned in furthering the objects of the gathering.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The thanks of the Council were directed to be accorded to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

"The Annals of Gonville and Caius College." By John Caius, M.D.
Master of the College. Edited by John Venn, Sc.D., 1904.

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," 1904.

„ Do., for "Contributions to Knowledge," part of vol. xxxiv.

„ Do., for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xlv.

„ Do., for "Collections and Researches in Helminthology and Parasitology," part of vol. xlv, 1904.

„ Do., "A Select Bibliography," 1492-1902.

„ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. iv, Part 4, 1904.

„ Museo Nacional de Mexico, for "Boletin," 1904; "Anales," 1904.

„ Royal Archæological Institute, for "Journal," June, 1904.

„ Stockholm Archæological Society, for "Journal," vol. xviii, Part 3.

A Paper on "Norman Art and Architecture in Sicily" was read by the Rev. H. Cart, and will be published. An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Hubbard (who has spent many months in Sicily studying the architectural characteristics), Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman, took part.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

La Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Hof-und-Staats Bibliothek, Munich.

Universitäts Bibliothek, Heidelberg.

The Ashmolean Library, Oxford.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the* Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," Parts 1 and 2, 1905.
- „ Somerset Archæological Society, for "Proceedings," 1904.
- „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," Part 4, vol. xxxiv.
- „ Smithsonian Institution, for "A Comparison of the Features of the Earth and Moon, by N. S. Shaler.
- „ Do., for "Miscellaneous Collections," quarterly issue, 1904.
- „ Sussex Archæological Society, for "Collections," vol. xlvii.
- „ Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," January, 1905.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for "Journal and Index," December, 1904 ; "Abstracts of the Inquisitions Post-mortem, Part 3, 1904.
- „ Essex Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. ix, Part 4, 1904.

A lecture was given by Mr. Andrew Oliver on "London, Monastic and Ecclesiastical," which was illustrated by a large number of lantern views, many being reproductions of scarce engravings of churches and other buildings of Old London now demolished. Maps and plans were also shown upon the screen. Mr. Oliver said that fifteen great monasteries, according to Sir Walter Besant, stood within and without the City before they were destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. They belonged to different religious Orders, but the Austin Canons possessed the greatest number of establishments. All that remains now of these once great monastic buildings consists of the chancel of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, the church of St. Helen in Bishopsgate, the nave of the church of the Austin Friars, part of the Charterhouse, the gateway and the crypt of the nave of the Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell, the church of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, and the Temple Church. Of the parish churches by far the greatest number were situated near the river in the south-east. The saints to whom the churches were dedicated were many times repeated. Thus there were eight dedications to All Hallows, seven to St. Michael, five to St. Martin, four to St. Benet, and so on ; while in many cases a second name was added, in order to distinguish one parish from another, as in St. Margaret Pattens (so named from the patten-makers who lived in the parish), St. Margaret Moses or Mosses, etc. The largest number of churches were, of course, dedicated to St. Mary or the Blessed Virgin. The

particular dedication is sometimes indicated externally, as in St. Laurence, where the weather-vane is in the form of a gridiron, or in the golden key of St. Peter's, Cornhill. St. Alphege's is known as St. Alphege-on-the-Wall, as it is built partly upon the Old Wall of London, which, in fact, forms the north wall of the church.

A short discussion followed, in which Mr. C. Lynam, Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. C. J. Williams, Dr. Birch, and others participated.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, announced that the Congress this year would be held at Reading in July. The date has been fixed for the 17th of that month.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the East Herts. Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. ii, Part 2.*
- „ *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxvii, Part 1.*
- „ *Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," vol. lxi, Parts 242, 243.*
- „ *Powys-land Club for "Collections," vol. xxxiii, Part 2.*
- „ *Yorkshire Archæological Society for "Journal," Part 70, (vol. xviii, Second Series).*
- „ *Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne, for "Archæologia Æliana," vol. i, Third Series :—"Account of Jesmond," by Fredk. Wm. Dendy, 1904.*
- „ *Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "General Index," vols. i-xx, Part 1, and vols. xxi-xl, Part 2.*

The Chairman exhibited, on behalf of Mr. W. E. A. Axon, a fine photograph and several other illustrations of the very curious sculptured stone which was discovered in the foundations of the west wall of the south porch of Manchester Cathedral in 1871, and is known as the "Angel Stone." It measures $13\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins., and represents an angel with extended wings standing, and holding a kind of scroll bearing an incised inscription, which Canon E. L. Hicks reads as follows :—

IN MANVS T
VAS DM CO
MMED SP

"In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum" (meum). Considerable

difference of opinion exists as to the real meaning of this stone, and as to its date. Dr. Birch thinks the sculpture and inscription belong to the eighth or ninth century, and formed part of a representation of the Crucifixion. The stone is being carefully preserved by the cathedral authorities. A full account of this interesting stone will be published in our next Antiquarian Intelligence.

Dr. Astley exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Ludovic M. Mann, of Glasgow, some sixty objects, many of flint, others of sandstone and quartz, part of a collection of about 1,200 found at Culmore, in the south of Scotland, on the site of a supposed prehistoric workshop. They are of the Neolithic Age, and some seem to have been handled at a period earlier than that in which the workshop flourished, as they show evidence of the presence of two distinct patinæ on the worked surfaces; some also show signs of fire. No pottery was met with. This exhibition was very interesting in connection with "finds" made recently by Dr. Astley and Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., in exploring the earthworks at Castle Rising, in Norfolk, showing evidences of there having been a similar Neolithic workshop there. An unfinished flint arrowhead, an adze, and a beautiful little flint saw were among the most striking of these "finds." Dr. Astley also submitted some perforated pebbles, which were considered to be of the class described as "lucky stones" by Sir John Evans in his *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 469, and a perforated hammer, from the Fen District. These were sent for exhibition by Dr. Marten Perry, of Spalding.

Mr. Selley, through Dr. Astley, sent for exhibition some portions of Samian ware showing signs of fire, found near the site of East Gate, Exeter, at a depth of 10 ft. He also showed some pottery from the site of a Roman villa recently unearthed at Brislington, near Bristol.

A Paper was read by Mr. C. H. Compton on "Villa Faustini," with reference to a letter in *The Standard* of September 10th, 1904, from Mr. Barham, of Bury St. Edmunds, in which that gentleman, describing Roman remains he had found some three weeks previously at Sicklesmere, about two miles from Bury, raised the question whether the discovery had not localised the position of the "Villa Faustini" of the "Itinerary" of Antoninus. Mr. Compton, although he had not been successful in locating Faustinus's villa at the thirty-five miles distance from Colonia which was required, hoped that the materials he had worked out would prove useful in determining the points at issue.

Mr. Forster, Mr. Emanuel Green, Dr. Astley, Mr. Maples, and the Chairman took part in the discussion on this Paper, which will be published.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

Mediæval Heraldic Tiles (The Bredon Collection). Drawn in Colours and explained by H. T. HALL.—The study of mediæval tiles has hitherto been little pursued, and those who happen to know the mediæval tiles here and there scattered about do not always appreciate sufficiently their artistic splendour; while those who would immediately recognise the beauty of the work are frequently unaware that there is really a considerable amount of it to be found by the industrious searcher.

This collection of tiles preserved at Bredon Church, Worcestershire, is probably alone in being largely of the early fourteenth century; and it is believed to contain some of the oldest-known English examples of this mediæval art, others being mainly of the fifteenth century or later.

At Bredon Church the tiles now to be illustrated are built into the risers of the chancel-steps, and are in the main well preserved. Some of the specimens are repeated, and in some few cases it has been necessary to reconstruct the tile from two such specimens, where both are now imperfect. But for the most part the best example has been taken as it now is; and by means of a series of forty-five drawings is shown all that is now to be seen.

That none of the beauty of these tiles may be lost, the author has copied them most painfully and faithfully, preserving not only the fine heraldic feeling, but also the rich-toned aspect of age. These drawings will be perfectly reproduced by the most exact and truthful photo-colour process, entirely regardless of expense, in order to secure a permanent record of these matchless examples of this mediæval art.

Each plate will be accompanied by a letterpress description, amplified in many cases by a chart pedigree, showing the connection between the different families, thus accounting for the assemblage of these magnificent tiles in this secluded little parish church. There will be an illustrated introduction on the Church of Bredon; and an essay upon the methods by which these tiles were produced in mediæval times.

The whole subject will be treated in an ample manner; and in the event of the present publication meeting with sufficient support, other collections will be illustrated in a similar way.

The book it is now proposed to issue will be in royal quarto, and printed on superior paper, and the cloth binding will be appropriate to the contents, both in durability and workmanship. The colour-printing will begin so soon as two hundred and fifty subscribers are obtained. The subscription price will be £3 10s. Every copy will be numbered and signed, and copies will be allotted to subscribers in order of subscription.

As the time required for the reproduction of the plates cannot be stated with any precision, the subscription price need not be sent until the subscriber receives an intimation that the volume is ready for issue. Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. Fitzwilliam, Publisher, Vernon Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Some Consequences of the Norman Conquest. By the Rev. GEOFFREY HILL, Author of "English Dioceses" (London: Elliot Stock, 7s. 6d. net).—Napoleon's slighting observation upon the likeness between Russian and Tartar is not likely to be forgotten, because there is an element of truth in it. But the likeness between the Englishman of the tenth century and him of the twentieth is far closer than that between Russian and Tartar, "Scratch a Russian," said Napoleon, "and you will find a Tartar." Far truer would it be to say: "Scratch an Englishman of the present day and you will find the Anglo-Saxon." The Russian is not strictly a Tartar, whereas the Englishman of Edward VII's time is almost the same in blood as the Englishman of the time of Edward the Elder. Certainly, we were mainly Britons and Saxons or English before the Conquest, and such we remain, though there has been since the Conquest a considerable amount of Continental blood introduced into our land. It is the object of Mr. Hill's book to investigate and not to extenuate the changes which the Norman Conquest has brought about, and he has intentionally directed the attention of his readers to the comparatively small consequences of the Conquest rather than the greater ones: these he leaves to be discussed by competent writers. Learned men have written much, *e.g.*, upon the influence of Norman lawyers and Norman modes of thought upon the English judicial system: but Mr. Hill points us to smaller changes, some of which are of considerable importance, and none of them are devoid of interest. Thus, he shows us the ultimate certainty of an invasion of England, even if the Norman Conquest had never occurred; and argues that this

would have been brought about, not so much by the intrinsic weakness of the country, as by the determination of its component parts not to unite for the common safety. Another point that the author treats of is the amount of abuse lavished by the French upon their insular neighbours ; this he traces to the Conquest, and gives many and curious examples, founded on misconception, superstition, and aversion.

Old Ingleborough Pamphlets, No. 1. By HERBERT M. WHITE, B.A. (London : Elliot Stock, 2s. 6d. net).—This is the first of a series in which Mr. White hopes to deal with all that is interesting in the past of Ingleborough and the surrounding district. Standing, as it does, on the edge of the Vale of Lune, Ingleborough presents an impressive landmark, and has attracted round itself in every age a numerous population. Vestiges of all epochs abound, with perhaps the sole exception of the Palæolithic. Remains occur on every hand, comprising Neolithic, Ancient British, Roman, Romano-British, Scandinavian, Saxon, Norman, and those of more recent times. The writer, in company with Mr. J. C. Walker, of Ingleton, undertook a series of excavations upon the numerous tumuli, burrows, encampments, Roman roads, Roman camps, and other earthworks, and the result, to judge by the present pamphlet, is a most valuable contribution to local archæology. Mr. White has a theory that Ingleborough was at one time a great centre of Roman civilisation; and even if the proofs do not seem quite to establish this, yet evidence of Roman military and civil occupation is incontestible. The “Hermit” is possessed of a facile and poetic pen, and he draws the reader along in real reluctance to lay the volume down till the story of Ingleborough and its vanished past, which he surveys in all too rapid fashion, is concluded. Many good illustrations embellish all the pages of this interesting little pamphlet.

Students of local history and genealogists will be glad to possess a Transcript of the First Volume, 1538-1636, of the *Parish Register of Chesham, Bucks.*, with Introductory Notes, Appendices, and Index. By J. W. GARRETT-PEGGE (London : Elliot Stock, 15s. net).—The Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials for the parish of Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, is an interesting example of the not very numerous parish registers which date back to 1538, when parochial registration was established in this country, and which contain the records from that time to the present without break of more than a few years. The parish has been populous from very early times, several industries having been located there ; so that, although in the middle of

the sixteenth century it was unusual for a mere market-town, away from any main line of communication between London and the provinces, to have as many as a thousand inhabitants, this number must have been nearly or quite reached at Chesham; and the population seems since to have increased rapidly and continuously. Hence the Parish Register is lengthy, and fills a number of volumes. It is the first and largest of these, covering the years 1538-1636, which has been transcribed and is now published. There are 8,528 entries, comprising 4,415 baptisms, 1,100 marriages, and 3,013 burials. The transcript is believed to be a trustworthy *verbatim et literatim* reproduction of the original, excepting a very few entries which have become illegible from blotting or fading of the ink, or which have been cut off the foot of a page in careless trimming of the leaves at some time when the volume was rebound. The Bishop's transcript for the period is very defective, but for the years to which it applies its readings have been collated with those of the Register, and the discrepancies have been noted. They are somewhat numerous, and show the value of the extant diocesan transcripts, not only in supplying the place of registers that have been lost or destroyed, but also as a means of checking the entries in those that have been preserved. The book is prefaced by some introductory notes on matters that may be of interest, and a number of appendices are included. It is furnished with a full index, in which all the occurrences of every name are entered, and the baptisms, marriages, and burials are distinguished.

Genealogists will also find the following work of great interest. *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*. For the use of the Genealogist, Biographer, Topographer, and Church Historian. Compiled, with Notes, by GERALD FOTHERGILL (London: Elliot Stock, 7s. 6d. net).—The great interest which is felt in the genealogy of America in the present day is evidenced by the large number of books which are issued relating to this subject. It is thirty years since Hotten published his *List of American Emigrants*. This present collection forms the most recent and important series of clues to American ancestry since that time; for the connecting links between American and English families that have been published from wills are only selections, and in no way exhaustive. The author of *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America* has made a compilation of over twelve hundred names of ministers and schoolmasters who received the King's Bounty of twenty pounds towards the cost of their passage to America. This work has been gleaned from the records of the Treasury, now preserved in the Public Record Office, and annotations from such works as Foster, Sprague,

etc., have been added. The introduction contains an interesting account of the origin of the passage-money, the early settlement of the Episcopal clergy in the New World, and some hints on pedigree research work. To facilitate easy reference, the book has an alphabetical arrangement. Amongst the names to be found in this work are: Goronwy Owen, premier poet of Wales; Dr. Cutler, Rector of Yale; Robert Stanser, Bishop of Nova Scotia; Wm. White, first American Bishop of the English line; Dr. Chas. Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, and first Colonial Bishop of the Church of England. This Dr. Inglis was grandfather of Sir J. E. W. Inglis, the defender of Lucknow; George Keith, first missionary to America of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and formerly a Quaker; and Aaron Cleveland, ancestor of President Grover Cleveland. The territory covered in this work includes the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. The book should appeal to English students as well as to the American genealogist, for its pages may throw light on the disappearance of many a name from a pedigree. Many errors in genealogical books of reference can be corrected from this work. For instance, Sprague says that "Tho. Craddock came to America in 1742," but he did not receive the bounty till 1743/4.

Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria, untersucht und beschreiben, von HERMANN THIERSCHE. (Berlin: Georg Reimer. 30s. net.)—In this volume we have a splendid monograph, such as the Germans are famous for, on the subject of two ancient tombs discovered at Sidi Gaber, and in the gardens of Antonius, near Alexandria, in the course of recent engineering operations. The tombs are entered from the sea-level, and extend for some distance along the shore, on the face of the cliff, comprising several separate chambers, all containing monuments and objects of interest, while the colouring on the walls is rich in the extreme. The finest tomb is that situated in the gardens of Antonius, and consists of four chambers. The innermost chamber of this tomb is the most striking, since it contains a niche for offerings, surmounted by the sacred serpent intertwined upon itself, and the couch for the dead. The technical execution of the whole is good, if not unique, and the author compares the details with similar finds in Cyprus and Phœnicia, and even as far as Baalbek, and with the coloured decorative work at Pompeii. He would assign these two tombs to the period of the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Six beautiful coloured plates and ten illustrations in the text enhance the value of the author's careful and accurate description of this interesting discovery.

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NOTES

ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY.

By THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., V.D., J.P., M.Inst. C.E.

(Continued from p. 29.)

PART III.

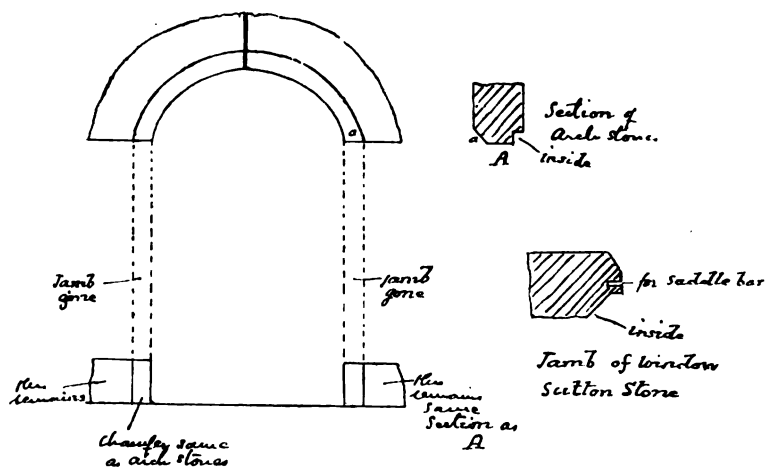
LE NEWE GRANGE.



HIS is marked on the Ordnance Map as the remains of a Grange. I believe it is the Grange known in the Abbey deeds as Le Newe Grange, and I think so from the sea-wall which is close to it being called "Gwal-y-Cwrt Newydd," Wall of the New Court or Grange. The building, parts of which remain, stands on the marsh, 16 ft. above Ordnance datum. Before the sea-walls were made, the tide flowing up the estuary—which I will refer to more particularly when treating of the Grange of Theodoricus, which stood on the opposite side—reached close up to it. This Grange, was a large building, and having a road—now called "Heol-y-deiliad," the Tenant's Road—leading straight from it to the Abbey, was probably the Home Farm, and supplied the Abbey with its produce; it has all round it the fertile



South Side of Le Newe Grange.



Details of Doorway of Le Newe Grange.

lands of the great plain, between the mountains and the sea-shore, named Morfa. Morfa means a marsh on, or near, the sea-shore.

The doorway in the Pine End has a flattened arch-stone, with chamfer, which was continued down the jamb shown in detailed sketch.¹ In the south side of the part or former room (of which the Pine End remains), which is 87 ft. long by about 30 ft. in width, are splayed window-openings, which had jambs of the same section as the westernmost window in the Grange of Theodoric. The Grange occupied three sides of a square, and each



Old Pine End, Le Neue Grange.

building is about the same size. The south wing had its doorway on the south side. Although no traces remain above ground, I believe the buildings extended northward, and exploration would undoubtedly discover them. The square holes in the Pine End are puzzling, unless they were for scaffolding. The openings in the south wall of the south part are merely narrow openings, splayed inwards, like those of a barn. The whole of the walls are spurred outward at the base. I found two

¹ Now broken into two parts.

of the window-jambs of Sutton stone, with holes for saddle-bars (see section in details above). I do not think this Grange was provided with a chapel, on account of its nearness to the Abbey, to which the *conversi* could go; and later, as I show further on, the chapel in the woods, "Cryke Chapel," was built for the tenants around the Abbey. The Old Pine End is known locally as Hen Biniwn, Welsh for Old Pine End.

GROES-WEN GRANGE—BLESSED CROSS GRANGE.

This grange is pleasantly situated just below the opening of a dingle called Cwm Geifr—Goats' Valley. It stands about 120 ft. above sea-level or Ordnance datum.

Of this Grange we read but little, except the leases mentioned later on, until we come to the Crown Sale (*T.* 359; *C.* MCCCXLIV), to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, in which the abbey church and various granges are sold for £938 6s. 8d. In this sale, Groes-wen appears as "White Crosse Grange." I have no doubt *wen*, i.e., *gwen*—white—is used here in the sense of blessed, as it often is. In the first verse of the first Psalm, for instance, we have: "Gwyn ei fyd y gwr ni rodia y' nghynghor yr annuwiolion"—"Blessed is the man," etc. Here, then, is an example of *gwyn*—white—being used for blessed. *Groes* is feminine, therefore the feminine adjective, *gwen*, *wen*, is used: *gwyn* is masculine. In the "Breuddwyd Mair"—"Mary's Dream"—the Blessed Virgin is called Mam Wen Fair—"Blessed Mother Mary."

A little over half a mile to the east of Groes-wen Farm is a cross on the top of the mountain, made of embanked earth and grass-covered. The arms are of equal length, and measure 140 feet across. It is a very striking object when viewed from a little higher ground. The Ordnance Map has it, "Cross, on site of Cairn." Where the surveyors obtained the information that a cairn existed there, I know not. I have recently had some correspondence with the Ordnance officials, with the result that the words "on site of Cairn" are not to appear in future maps. The cross is evidently a memorial of an

important site or event, and it has given the name to places along the mountain side, on the top of which it is situated—Brombil mountain, a spur of the great Margam mountain. There is the village of Y Groes (The Cross); the farm near by, Lan-ton-y-groes;¹ the farm, Groes-wen; Groes-wen-ganol,² a cottage now, formerly probably a small farm; an ancient farm, now taken down, Groes-wen-bellaf,³ and the little group of houses named Ton-y-groes.⁴

No tradition exists as to the cross, and therefore all ideas about it must be conjectural.⁵

In the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 599, we read, “Maesmawr is the name of the country in which the Monastery of Margam now is,” so that all round Margam Abbey the land was called Maesmawr, probably after the forests were burnt by the Welsh, and so a large open space was created, as the name suggests. Terrific battles were fought between the Welsh and the Romans, “and the bones of the Romans slain by Caractacus whitened the land like snow” (*Iolo MSS.*). We also read of a prison built of these bones, made into lime; the walls were also covered with the bones of those slain in the fierce battles around. It was of circular form and wonderful magnitude, and the larger bones were on the outer face of the walls, and within the circle many prisons and other cells were under the ground, places for traitors to their country. This was called the prison of Oeth and Annoeth (open and concealed), in memorial of what the Cymry and Caradoc their King had done for their country and race, in defeating the Romans so easily when the trees from the shores of the Severn to the banks of the Towey had been burnt down. Could the prison have been on this spot, which long afterwards the monks sought to consecrate by making thereon this great cross? On the flat ground at the foot

¹ Lan-ton-y-groes. The sward inclosure of the Cross.

² Groes-wen-ganol. Middle Groes-wen.

³ Groes-wen-bellaf. Further Groes-wen.

⁴ Ton-y-groes. The green sward of the Cross.

⁵ Since writing the above, I have heard there is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that the Cross marks, and as it were consecrates, the burial-place of a number of soldiers.

of the mountain and under the cross, one of the fields has the name *Maesmawr*; perhaps the last piece to be enclosed of the greater *Maesmawr*.

As I have mentioned before, important entrenchments, British and Roman, are found about two miles from this cross, and the grave of Bodvoc lies but $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east from it. Stirring scenes had doubtless taken place on these mountains, and I believe the monks made the cross to mark the burial-place of a large number of the slain. For, "in the course of a long time, the bones became decayed . . . and they were reduced to dust. Then they carried the remains and put them on the surface of the ploughed land, and from that time they had astonishing crops of wheat and barley. . ."¹ Even, as I think, they cut the cross on Bodvoc's sepulchral stone, knowing him to have been a Christian, from the formula, "*hic jacet*"—"here lies (the body of)—".

An interesting document referring to Groeswen is a lease—dated 20 years before the end—of the reversion of the grange called "*Le White Crosse*" (note the use of the French "*le*" for "*the*"), after the decease of Catherine Nerber, by David, Abbot of Margam and the Convent therein, to Gwladus verz (*verch*, daughter) Jeuan ap David ap Jankyn, for sixty years; bounded from the tenement of William ap Owen ap Jeuan ap Madoc towards "*Row-theris*," and from "*Row-theris*" to the tenement of Gwladus verz (*verch*, daughter) David ap Yorath, and from that as the "*Gwosse*" water goes down to the high road to the bridge there, and from that bridge to a stone set up in the Salt-marsh near the water "*Raneth*;" also a tenement called "*Mays Melyn*," and "*Cay Lloyd*," late held by Jeuan ap David Jacke, and then by Hugh ap John ap Jankyn, at a yearly rent of twelve and a-half crannocs of pure barley, (a cranock = 10 bushels), and for the said tenement *6sh. 8d.* The said lessee to provide a *jentaculum* or dinner for the Convent yearly, easement for carriage of glebe to the sea, and a heriot.

Dated, February, 8 Henry VIII (A.D. 1517).

¹ *Iolo MSS.*

The tenements or cottages of William and of Gwladus verch David ap Yorath still exist, that of the latter being probably the oldest house on Margam Estate. The "Row-theris"—Rhiw-ddyrys (=the steep lane difficult of passage), is the same to-day, steep and narrow, with bushes and brambles crowding in on each side. The "Gwosse" is there, flowing from Cwm Geifr, but now nameless. Gwosse probably means Cwysig, a furrow or narrow ditch: this is characteristic of the brook, it flows on the marshes in a narrow ditch. The fields, "Mays Melyn" (Maes Melyn = yellow field) and Cay Lloyd (Cae Llwyd = gray field) are still known by these names. The stone set up by the water Raneth is, I believe, the stone at the end of the parapet wall of the little bridge over the "Raneth" (Raneth = Rheanell, a little stream, called locally Ranallt).

The providing the *jentaculum* can be understood; we are not told if the dinner was to be eaten at Groeswen or at Margam. But it is puzzling to know the meaning of the carriage of glebe to the sea.

In a deed, dated 9 August, A.D. 1575, Leyson Evans, of Neath, assigns to John Lawrens all his remainder of a lease of the Grange of Whitt-crosse, with Maes Melyne and Kay Lloyd, for an unexpired term, by deed of February, 8 Henry VIII, of the demise of the Abbot and Convent of the late Monastery of Margam.

In the *Margam and Penrice MSS.* is a lease by Sir Edward Mansell, of Oxwich, to John Lawrens, of "Whitcrosse Grainge," in the parish of Margam, for 21 years, "formerly in the tenure of Gwladis verz Jeuan ap David ap Jenkin." Dated 1st April, A.D. 1578.

GRUGWALLT GRANGE—"CRYKE."

Grug — heather, and gallt, allt — steep: the steep, heather-clad mountain. The Norman scribe has taken great liberties with this word: he disdains the last syllable, and adds an "e" to the first, to make it short and crisp, or frisky, like the summer breezes on the top of the steep. The pronunciation of Grug approaches somewhat to "Crik," so he was not far out in the first

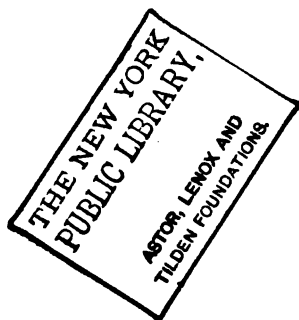
syllable. The farm is 550 ft. above sea-level. We find this Grange mentioned for the first time in the Crown Sale (*T.* 362; *C.* MCCCLi) to Rice Manxell, Knight, for £642 9s. 8d., among other granges, manors, mills, and "landes." Lands in "Cryke," and the site of the water-mill called "Cryke Mylle," attested by the King at Terlying (Terling), county Essex, 5th August, 35 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1543. The King afterwards consented to accept from Sir Rice £300 in lieu of the £642 9s. 8d., a good bargain for Sir Rice.

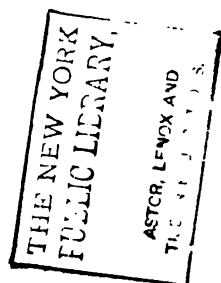
The buildings of Grugwallt Fawr are for the most part new, but the remains of the mill still exist, on the edge of the ornamental water, near the mansion of Miss Talbot. The streams from Cwm Philip, Cwm Maelog, and Cwm Bath, formerly flowed past and worked the mill, now they fall into the pond above the mill. Cwm Bath is named so from an ancient Holy Well, which still exists, but there is no tradition regarding it. It is singular that, although the monks were at Margam nearly 400 years, no tradition of any kind lives in the parish about them.

I used to think the Wendderi valley was the prettiest I had seen, but now I must give the apple to the sister, Cwm Maelwg. I had not visited Cwm Maelwg for twenty years, and "out of sight, out of mind;" but on visiting it again on the 4th of May this year, I was delighted with the fair aspect: all was still in the valleys, save for the bleat of lambs, the cuckoo's note, and the murmuring of the stream below. The trees were, for the most part, still in winter garb, but here and there one more venturesome than the other was clothed in vivid green, so bright against the brown of the bracken-covered hills—those rounded hills that seem so old and stern. From here the hills rise in gradual slope, and seem as if they wished to touch the skies; high up, clad only in the russet-coloured bracken, the lower slopes, sombre in the gathering twilight, with deep dark green of fir trees. Here is a well quaintly named to express such thoughts as mine: "Ffynon-y-drych fannau"—"The Well of the Fair Aspect of Places." Up this valley passed the Roman soldiers on their way from the *Via Julia Maritima* of



HOLY WELL.
Called the Bath by the People.





the plains to the high lands ; and nearly eight centuries later came the white-robed monks, who doubtless often viewed the same scene, and loved its quiet reposefulness, and left it with regret. As so frequently occurs in these valleys, the entrance is narrow, so that you seem shut in all round. This valley and Cwm Philip are just behind the monastery. I believe the valley is named Cwm Maelwg, after St. Maelwg. Probably one of the three saints to whom Capel Trisant was dedicated, as I have already stated.

Chapel of Cryke, Grugwallt.—In the woods under Grugwallt are the ruins of the little chapel, “Hen Eglwys,” Old Church, and “Capel Papishod,” Papist Chapel ; “Papishod,” a colloquial corruption of Papistiad, are the names given to it by the people. It is only two hundred yards in direct bee-line from the Abbey itself, and it is certainly much larger than would be needed for the *conversi* of the three Grugwallts, if three farms existed there as now. It is about 67 ft. in length by about 24 ft. in width, and had evidently been a handsome building ; a beautiful piscina remained *in situ* until quite recently ; now the bowl has disappeared, the two supporting pillars and the niche alone remaining. It stands about 300 ft. above sea-level, or Ordnance datum, and from it you look right down on to the Abbey Church and building.

I had long puzzled over the *raison d'être* of this chapel so near the Abbey Church ; but I think its existence is due to the fact of the letting of the farms and granges of the estate. The *conversi* who worked the farms Grugwallt, Blaen Maelwg, Cwm Maelwg, Cwm, Ynis, Tyn Coed, and the Mill of Cryke, were doubtless accustomed, being in the near neighbourhood of the Abbey, to attend the Abbey Church ; but when from 1470 A.D., and onwards to the end, they were replaced by secular tenants, it was found necessary to build a chapel for the latter, and near enough to be served by a priest from the Abbey. The chapel was placed high up on the mountain side, so as to be convenient for the hill-farmers. The perpendicular architecture of the chapel, too, agrees with

this date, and I think we are safe, therefore, in placing its erection at about A.D. 1470.

There would be the case of lepers, too; they would not be allowed within the Abbey precincts, but would go to the lepers' window—if such there was—in the chapel of Cryke, and there receive the Holy Communion, passed to them through it. This, however, is pure conjecture.

Why do people call it Capel Papishod (Capel Papistiad), Papist Chapel? I believe it is so called from the probability of Mass being secretly celebrated in the chapel, owing to its secluded position, for those who refused to accept the new order of services in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Pope excommunicated the Queen, and called upon his adherents to resort no longer to the parish churches.

The orientation of the chapel is 13 deg. south of true east. That of the Abbey Church is due true east; Capel Trisant about due true east.

Here is an opportunity for ascertaining the dedication of the chapel, if there is anything in the idea of the orientation being in accordance with the rising of the sun on the Saint's Day to whom the dedication is made. Here are two churches: the Abbey Church, dedicated to St. Mary being due east, and the chapel, only 200 yards away to the north, being 13 deg. south of east, and the dedication unknown. The orientation due to St. David is nearest; thus in Wales, March 1st, 12 deg. south of east. Mr. Geo. Watson, of Penrith, in his *Orientation and Dedications of Ancient Churches in England and Wales*, proves, I think conclusively, that the ancient churches are not orientated, according to sunrise on the day of the saint to whom they were dedicated. I think the foundations were laid out to the rising sun on the day of the marking out. Mr. Watson gives a quotation from Aubrey, who quotes from Captain Silas Taylor: "In days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the Vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon when the Sun arose for the East, which makes the variation so that few stand true east, except those built between or at the two Equinoxes."

THE GRANGE OF THEODORIC'S HERMITAGE.¹

So we find it styled in the Bull of Pope Urban III, directed to the Abbot and Brethren, in response to their request taking them under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope, and ordaining that the Monastic Order, in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict and the constitutions of the Cistercians, be kept for ever inviolate; and confirming to them certain grants, among which appears the "Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage, with its appurtenances." Dated at Verona, 18th November, A.D. 1186.

In the foundation charter, or the *Inspeximus* of it, rather, we find the Hermitage of Theodoric mentioned as a landmark in the description of the boundary, as we have seen in the first chapter of these notes. Seeing the Abbey was founded in A.D. 1147 (*Annales de Margan*, quoted before), the Hermitage, as a monastic establishment, had evidently been superseded by the Cistercian Abbey, for, in the Papal Bull thirty-nine years after the founding of the Abbey, we find it styled a Grange.

In 1894 I was so fortunate as to receive from Miss Talbot of Margam, vol. i of the *Margam and Penrice MSS.*, by Dr. de Gray Birch, a catalogue and description of the monastic deeds and other documents which belonged to the muniment chest of the Abbey. For the first time I knew of the existence at one time in the parish of the Hermitage of Theodoricus, and that its site was near the mouth of the Avan (or Afan) River, and just to the east of it. The wording of the charter makes these points clear: "That is to say, all the lands which extend between Kenfig, and the further bank of the water of the further Afan, which is to the west of the Hermitage of Theodoricus as the water aforesaid descends from the mountains." This describes the extent of the lands along the lowlands on the sea shore. "All this land I grant to the monks as it goes through the mountains, namely, from the source of Kenefeg Water between the source of Rudelf

¹ See "The Hermitage of Theodoric and Site of Pendar" for plan of building, tiles, piscina, etc., *Arch. Camb.*, April, 1903.

(Ffrwdwyllt), and *Gelli-fret* (Gelli-vrith)¹ *on to Red-Kewelthi* (Rhyd Gyfylchu), *that is the ford of Kewelthi, into Aven.*" (The italics are mine). The latter part describes the boundaries among the hills and at the rivers' sources.

Several years ago I found tile-stones among the sand-dunes near the old mouth of the Afan, and later some green glazed earthenware tiles, some flat and some ridge or crest tiles. In 1898 I had the sand cleared off from a pile of stones, and found a building 85 ft. in length. I was unable to get to the floor, by reason of water preventing further progress unless a pump was used. I also, two years ago found, among the ruins at the east end, part of a piscina or holy-water stoup, clearly showing the existence of a chapel at the Grange.

The upper windows, three in number, were dormer windows; inside of each there was a recess, very like the seats to be seen in old castles; but these, of course, were too narrow for that. The stone-work of the centre one is superior to that of the other two, and perhaps it shows this to have been the guest-chamber.

The quoins, jambs of the windows, and the mullion of the easternmost window are of green Collwn or Quarella (Bridgend) stone.

The iron stanchions and saddle-bars in the westernmost window, and in the little centre window, are almost perfect, as also are the shutter-hooks still remaining inside the easternmost window. The small window west of the doorway is 10 in. wide by 7 in. high; it has three iron stanchions and one saddle-bar.

The stone steps leading from the basement are very narrow, 7 in. tread and 7 in. rise; through the top step runs a square hole; it probably was used for holding the upper part of a hand-rail, which would be necessary with such narrow steps.

I found traces of walls quite 100 yards away from the

¹ Gelli-vrith = "variegated grove," i.e., varying tints of the trees. One of the Margam deeds is endorsed, 17th seventeenth-century handwriting: "Panty-Vlayddast id est Gethlifreth," "the hollow of the female wolf, that is Gethli-freth."

main building, showing that the outbuildings were extensive.

The north walls of the building are covered by a high bank of sand, and I have made no attempt to uncover them as yet.

The line of the front of the building is 12 deg. north of east, and would be the orientation of the chapel at the east end.

The green-glazed ridge tiles are similar to those found at Llantwit Major Church (see in the April number, 1900, of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, the Paper by Mr. G. E. Halliday). Similar tiles were found in Nicholaston Church, Gower (Davies' *West Gower*, vol. iv, plate, opposite p. 496), and at Cardiff Castle.

I came to the conclusion that these ruins, situated as they are in the position stated in the Charters, and for other reasons which I will give further on, are those of the Grange of the Hermitage of Theodoric, buried and hidden from human eyes for well-nigh six hundred years.

The situation of the Hermitage was a strange one, and lonely. It stood on almost the extreme point of a long, narrow strip of land, having the Severn Sea on the west side and an estuary on the east, up which the tide raced for three miles, measuring from the opening on the shore between the sand-hills. Lonely as the spot was, it seems to have been such as appealed to the hermit's ideal: St. Cadoc searched for solitary places suitable for hermitages, and walked on one occasion about the banks of the River Neath.¹ Coch the hermit owned land in the Marsh of Afan, near the shore.² Another hermit, Ranulf, held the fishery of Sub-Pul-Canan on the shore near Briton Ferry.³ Apparently the hermits chose their dwelling-places near the sea-shore.

Having seen the plan of the Grange, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the eminent architect and antiquary, wrote me: "The building you have unearthed seems to be an interesting one, and, so far as I can judge from the

¹ Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*.

² *Margam MSS.*

³ See Dr. Birch, *Neath Abbey*, p. 42. Charter of Henry de Newburgh.

drawing, it may be of the first half of the fourteenth century. It is not a hermitage in the usual sense of the word ; but it seems to have been a dwelling-house of some sort, and may have belonged to a Grange, or a cell of the smaller sort." In writing Mr. Micklethwaite, I should have explained that the ruins were those of the Grange and not the Hermitage.

He also wrote me, in regard to the holy-water stoup : "The fragment you have found may belong either to a holy-water stoup or to a piscina. Very likely the circle of the bowl was completed under a niche in the wall. There is no detail to fix the date exactly, but I think it not earlier than the thirteenth century, and it may well be the fourteenth." I am inclined to fix the date of the Grange at near A.D. 1227, for the reason that in that year, according to the *Annales de Margam*, the Welsh cleared the Grange of Theodore, burnt several horses and great flocks of sheep, and I think the dwelling-house may have been—and probably was—destroyed, to be rebuilt, then or later, as we see it now. The south-west window-jambs are of about this date ; see section of window-jamb in Le Newe Grange, which is similar.

Several charters, in describing the limits of the Abbey lands, mention the Hermitage as a landmark. The latest is one by Richard, Earl of Gloucester, between A.D. 1246 and A.D. 1249. From this date we find it no more mentioned ; but we find in a detailed account of the Abbey Granges and other documents, the reason probably for this disappearance of the well-known landmark. This detailed account was drawn up in A.D. 1326, by the Abbot of Margam for the Abbot of Clairvaux, in obedience to the mandates of the Apostolic See, and of Clairvaux. It is followed by complaints of losses caused by mortality, wars, nearness to the high road ; and that no small part of the land adjacent to the shore is subject to inundation of sand.

A Bull of Pope Urban VI, addressed to the Bishop of Llandaff, sanctions the appropriation of the patronage of the Church of Aven (Aberavan) by the Abbey, because, among other things, the Abbey lands and possessions adjacent to the sea-shore had become unfruitful, owing

to inroads of the sea (doubtless sand is meant). Dated 17th July, A.D. 1383.

For the same reason, the Abbey was allowed to appropriate the church of Penllyn.

I conclude from the evidence that the Grange was overwhelmed by sand, and hidden effectually, from about A.D. 1300, to A.D. 1898, a period of close upon six hundred years. I think the building was quickly covered up by the sand. Dividing two of the upper-storey rooms, I found a clay partition 3 ins. thick, faced on each side with mortar. This was still standing, kept up by the sand, although the floor had disappeared. Had the building remained exposed to rain and wind, this partition would soon have collapsed. I can only account for it remaining in position by the sand filling up the building very quickly. The iron-work, too, has apparently been preserved by being covered and protected from the saline winds from the sea, so destructive to ironwork.

A tradition is mentioned in Davies' *West Gower*, as existing in Gower, which somewhat confirms the date I have given to the be-sanding of the Grange. In a grant, dated June, A.D. 1317, Sir William de Breos, Lord of the Seigniorship of Gower, gives liberty to his huntsman William, and Joan, his wife, to take hares, rabbits, and foxes, in the sand-burrows of Penard. Mr. Davies remarks on this: "Here, then, we have indisputable evidence that, in A.D. 1317, Penard burrows existed as a fact. The tradition is, that it was formed by a terrible storm, all in one night, and . . . the conclusion is almost irresistible that both these burrows (Penard and Penmaen) were formed at the same time, and the church and village of Stedworlango were overwhelmed when the sandstorm occurred, and consequently the be-sanding of these two churches (Penard and Penmaen) must have taken place previous to A.D. 1317."

The Grange and Penard are only separated by thirteen miles, and it seems probable that the same storm covered up the Grange of the Hermitage.

In the Bull of Pope Urban VII, before referred to, one of the clauses refers to the heavy debts of the Abbey, which made it impossible for it to repair its buildings,

now dilapidated by the "horrida ventorum intemperies"—dreadful unseasonableness of gales, which had thrown down or rendered insecure the greater part of them.

I believe (see the "Hermitage of Theodoric and the Site of Pendar," *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1903) the hermitage was founded by Theodoricus, the nephew of Sir Richard de Granavilla and of Sir Robert Fitz-hamon. Seeing the hermitage was in Margam, which became the dower land of Mabel, or Mabila, the daughter of Sir Robert, and Theodoric's cousin, it seems to me likely that the existence there of the hermitage, a beginning of monastic life, induced the giving of Margam to the monks of Clairvaux, for the establishment of a larger monastic establishment, similar to that of Neath Abbey, founded and endowed by Theodoric's uncle, Sir Richard. It is said by some that Mabila was the only daughter of Sir Robert Fitz-hamon; by others that he had four daughters. I think the latter is the more probable, as we are told that two embraced the religious life—became nuns. Probably the other died, and so practically Mabila was the only daughter, being "in the world," and thus she became his heiress. Mabel is called Mabli in *Iolo P. S.*, p. 631.

At high tide, the Grange of Theodoric and Le Newe Grange were separated by a width of tidal water of half a mile, and truly picturesque the scene must have been on a calm summer's day, with the background of Margam mountain rising abruptly from the plain several hundred feet, and clad with oaks right up to the summit, with this stretch of water on the plain. We have a picture of this in the *Beaufort Progress*, A.D. 1684: "Margham is a noble seat . . . Its scituation is among excellent springs . . . at the foot of prodigious high hilles of woods, shelter for ye Deere, about a mile distant from an arm of the Sea, parting this shore and the County of Cornwall, below which, and washed almost round with salt water, is a Marsh whereunto the Deer (ye tide being low) resort much by swimming, and thrive to an extraordinary weight and fatness as I never saw the like . . ."

I think the writer means the tide being high instead of low. This was the marsh on which the Grange stood.

In winter, the Hermitage itself, before any of the Granges were built, and before the Abbey rose and brought its monks, must have been lonely in the extreme, and the scene most weird and desolate. The roaring tide on one side, and the tidal water of the estuary close up on the other, the circling, wheeling gulls and other sea-birds with their raucous cries, the spindrift scudding past the dwelling, the strange, continuous roar or din which we hear at times, as the breakers fall and dash upon the hard, flat sands in rapid succession : these sounds echoed back from the mountains, and all together mingled, seem to fill the bowl of heaven with a curious roar, which creates a feeling akin to awe, and must in those lonely days have added to the sense of desolation.

I believe, although it is difficult to ascertain the rule of life of the hermits, that they lived together as conventual bodies, for we have the names of some, contemporaneous, and probably living together at this hermitage—Theodoric, Meiler, and Coch.

The late Mr. J. Rowland Phillips, in his concise history of Glamorgan, writes, "that at Kenfig, for instance, a great tract of land had been swept away and rendered waste by repeated sand-storms of unusual magnitude. The first of which there is any account was a great storm in the time of Richard II, when an unprecedented high tide, swollen and infuriated by a great wind, devastated the shore, carrying away lands and houses, and leaving in their places nothing but sand-hills. The town suffered much, houses were overwhelmed, the site of the church of Towin disappeared." Mr. Phillips must refer to the letter written by King Richard II, Clerk C.C.C., from the Patent Rolls of the 8th year of his reign, 28th October, A.D. 1384, in which he sets forth that the Abbot of Margam had delivered a petition showing how Edward le Despenser, late Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, out of consideration for the losses which the sand-storms had inflicted on the Abbey, had bestowed on it the advowson of Aberavon Church, without first obtaining the Royal license. Subsequently, the Abbey obtained Papal permission to appropriate, but the Crown, by a suit in the Court of Common Pleas, recovered the advowson under

the provisions of the Statute of Mortmain ; yet the King, hereby desiring to favour the monks, in consideration of their expenses incurred in obtaining the licence of appropriation, grants the advowson, at the special request of Thomas, Bishop of Llandaff, Royal Confessor, for the sake of the King himself and heirs, and of the realm of England, and of his soul after death, and the souls of his progenitors and heirs, and of all faithful deceased persons.

I have little doubt, for the reason I have given before, that the sand-storm occurred about A.D. 1300. Tradition has it that the be-sanding of Kenfig took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; but Leland, in A.D. 1540, already found town and castle (Fitz-hamon's) "shoked with sand." Besides the damage done by the sands of the Severn Sea, Owen Glyndwr, A.D. 1402, caused the Abbey great loss. The claims of Owen were opposed by the Cistercians, and his only friends among the Abbeyes were the Franciscans. Owen, therefore, damaged the property and buildings of the chief ecclesiastical foundations in his war in Glamorgan.

If the sand did much damage to lands near the sea-shore it also did some good to the Abbey, for the dunes became thickly populated by rabbits, as they are to this day ; and we find a grant (*T.* 220 ; *C.* MCLXVII) by Hugh le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, to Margam, of free warren in their rabbit warren of Berwes, between the river of Avene and Kenefeg on the west side as far as the sea, and on the east side just as the main road extends from Aberavon to Kenfig. 16 Feb., 1344, A.D., endorsed : "The grant of a warren or connigry to be betwixt Avan and Kenfeg upon the borroes."

The monks evidently thought rabbit pie an agreeable change after so much venison pasty.

The Abbey had the right of wreck along the shore, but this was at times disputed. This right still belongs to the owner of Margam estate. The right had been given and confirmed by the Earl of Gloucester, soon after the foundation of the Abbey. A record exists of the proceedings (*T.* 196 ; *C.* MLXXXV) in the Glamorgan County Court, in which a case was tried as to this right.

The Abbot complained that the Earl of Gloucester's

officers had seized a wreck between Avene and Kenefeg. The jury found for the Abbot: 4th June, A.D., 1313. The deed is endorsed: "An inquisicion wherin hit is found that thobbot of Margan oweght to haue wrekkes betwyxt Avon and Kenefeg." Another case arose in A.D. 1333, and was tried in the Glamorgan County Court (T. 210; C. MCXLII), before John de Mounteney, Sheriff of Glamorgan, at Cardiff, on the 18th January, A.D. 1333. John Louel, Steward of Margam Abbey, was charged with appropriating a boat valued at 40s., three bales of wool, 60s., a small coffer, and a cask worth 8d. The property was claimed by Lord William La Zouche, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgannok. The Steward pleaded that the Abbot and his predecessors had immemorial right of wreck there, *a tempore quo non extat memoria*. The verdict was given in favour of the Abbot.

I have already mentioned the detailed account (T. 211; C. MCXLIII), drawn up by the Abbot, of the Grange's lands and property of the Abbey, in obedience to an Apostolic mandate in A.D. 1326. In it we find, among other matters, the number of monks and *conversi* inhabiting the Abbey, and, I suppose, in the case of the latter, the Granges. The Abbot states he is required to support thirty-eight monks and forty *conversi*: so with servants and guests the establishment must have been an extensive and costly one. He complains that the Abbey, being on the high road, is continually overrun with rich and poor strangers, as there are no other places of refuge near.

This interesting document was sealed in the presence of twelve seniors of the house, before the Abbot of Neeth (Neath) and Bernard, monk of Clairvaux, Bachelor of Theology.

THE GRANGE OF LLANBUGEILYDD.

"The Grange of the shepherd's inclosure." It is strange that the name of this extensive farm had completely disappeared. I think the reason for this is, that we find from the Margam MSS. the farm was divided up and the fields added to other farms. The homestead, too, if I am right in locating its site, was turned into cottages now known as Ton-y-Groes. I find from old people that these

cottages formed at one time a farm homestead. Judging therefore from this, and the fact of the fields belonging to it being in the neighbourhood of the cottages, I feel I am justified in locating its site at Ton-y-Groes.

Several deeds leasing lands, part of Lanvegely, appear.

The earliest date I find Llanbugelydd mentioned is A.D. 1520, and the latest in the counterpart of a lease by the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Mansel, Baron of Margam, P.C., to James ap John of Avan, of two closes of land



Part of Llanbugelydd Grange.

called Maes-y-Cwrt—field of the Court or Grange—six acres, at Lanvegely, Lordship of Hafod-y-Porth. 29 Sept., A.D. 1712.

In one document the house is termed a mansion, and in another the Chapel of Lanvigelethe is mentioned : no remains of the chapel exist.

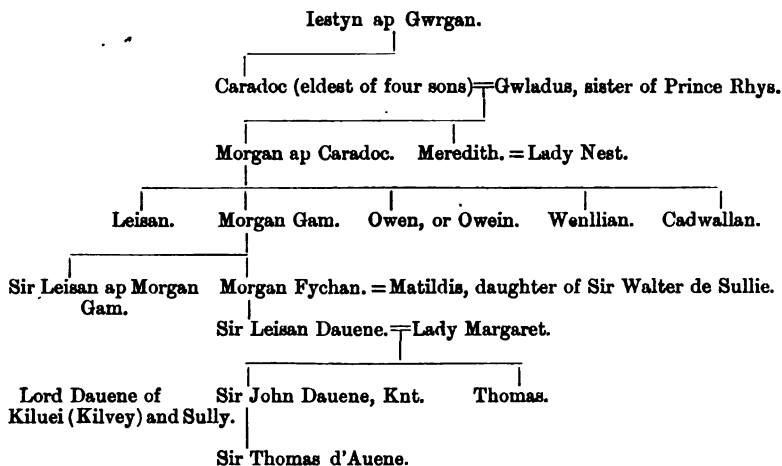
In Maes-y-Cwrt to-day, on the land of the Grange of the shepherd's inclosure, near the site of an old barn, which I used when a boy to pass at night in fear and trembling—for tramps resorted there—stands "The Shepherd's Inclosure," a magnificent Early English church,

dedicated to St. Theodore, built by Miss Talbot in A.D. 1897; and so although the name Llanbugeilydd had been lost, "The Shepherds' Inclosure" is there.

The Lords of Afan, the descendants of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, were, as we have seen, benefactors of Margam Abbey. They lived at Aberavan Castle, and so were near neighbours of the Lord Abbot. For these reasons, I give some account of them in these notes.

Iestyn ap Gwrgan was descended from Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan. He lost his lands when Fitzhamon conquered Glamorgan, but these were in part restored to his son Caradoc. The Lords of Afan were purely Welsh, but they adopted Norman customs, and used large seals bearing their effigies in armour on horseback. They bore the de Clare arms: *or.*, three chevrons *gules*; crest, the "Agnus Dei"—the Lamb and Flag.

THE D'AVENE PEDIGREE.



In A.D. 1151, Aberavan Castle was taken and destroyed by Madoc ap Meredydd, Prince of Powys. Morgan ap Caradoc thereupon fled, and placed himself under the protection of William, Earl of Gloucester. Henceforth, though Caradoc's descendants were more secure, they had less independence—they became subject to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

These lords gave to the Abbey lands in the Afan

March, in Resolven, in Newcastle (Bridgend), the common of pastures between the rivers Neath and Afan, at Llanfeithun, Baiden, and Cefn Machen, at the confluence of the Ogmore and Garw rivers.

Wenllian, too, the daughter of Morgan ap Caradoc, gave lands to the Abbey.

One of them gave himself, with his lands, and was received into full fraternity of Margam Abbey; that is, he became a monk. He was Meredydd, son of Caradoc.

Although the Lords of Afan gave lands to the Abbey, there were frequent dissensions between them and the Abbots. Morgan Gam—Morgan the Crooked—gave lands to the Abbey, but he frequently did injury to its possessions. At times he made his peace with the monks, but soon forgot his promises.

Leisan, too, had quarrels with the Abbot, but he was not so violent as Morgan. In one deed he confirms his father's gifts, and restores to the monks the land at Newcastle, which he had unjustly ploughed and sown. In another he undertakes not to vex the monks by demanding his rents beforehand, and in another he undertakes not to molest the monks in the Avene waters: nor drive away their sheep, nor trouble them in their cultivated lands in the fee of Newcastle, notwithstanding he may be making war with others for the said Newcastle.

A most interesting document exists among the Margam and Penrice MSS. (C. DCCXXXIII), which gives us Leisan's deed of confirmation of his father's and others' grants to Margam, and of his determination to end all quarrels with the Abbot and Convent of Margam.

At this peace-making there was, doubtless, a picturesque scene in the Abbey church. Leisan, come of a princely line, was the chief figure in the ceremony, and one can picture the scene as he stood at the high altar swearing that in future there shall be no more dissensions between the monks and himself; touching with his hand the most Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most precious wood of the True Cross, and the reliques of the holy Apostles, holy martyrs, holy confessors, and holy virgins.

I give Leisan's charter, translated from the Latin:—

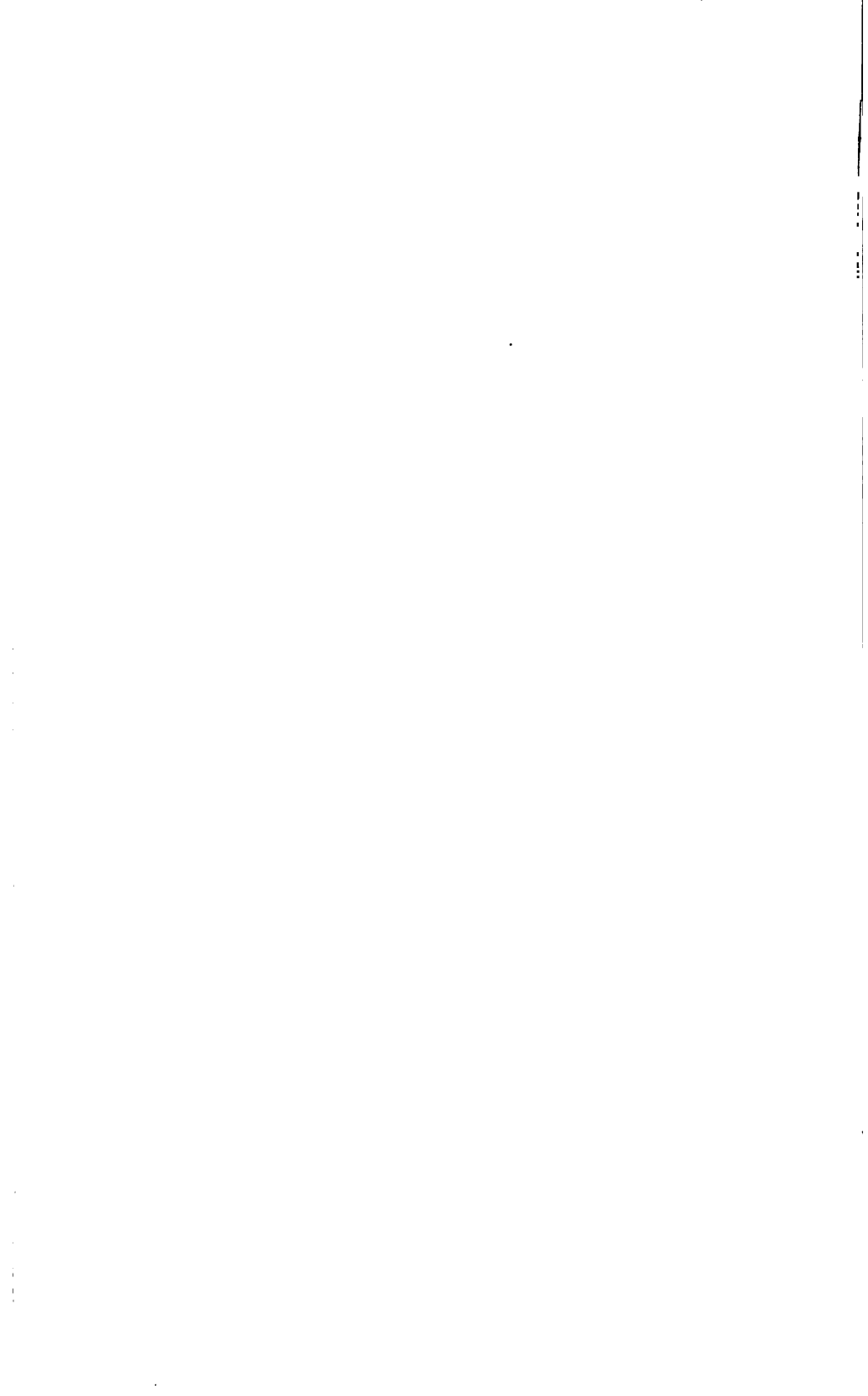




SOUTH TRANSEPT OF RU
Part of Chancel on Left. Base of Pillar, showing junction of Norman and Early E



10 PART OF ABBEY CHURCH.
sh Styles. Base of Altar, Piscina, and Aumbry. Chapter-house with Central Column.



Know all present and to come, that I, Leisan, son of Morgan, have quitted all claims, quarrels, and exactions which I hitherto had against the house of Margam, concerning all lands and tenements which the monks of that house hold of me and my men in my fee. Moreover, also, by this my present charter, I have confirmed to them all the concessions and agreements, and all the charters, which Morgan son of Caradoc and Audoenus, my brother, and our men, made to the same monks, and all the tenements which they gave or sold to them, as well in Pultimor (Pwll du mawr) and the marsh of Avene, as in the territory of Newcastle, and in all other places under the mountains and upon the mountains, that they may have and hold all these freely and quietly for ever, as any alms can be well and freely held, as the charters of my father and brother and our men testify. And especially the land of Walter Lageles, which my father gave to the house of Margam in alms. And I, Leisan, sane and prudent, have sworn with my own hand upon the *Sanctuarium* of the monastery, that is to say, upon the most sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and upon the most precious wood of the True Cross, and upon the relics of the holy Apostles, and holy martyrs, and holy confessors, and holy virgins, the relics of all which were contained in one Cross; upon all these, placed upon the great altar, as they were expressly and manifestly named to me, I have sworn, that for the future I will not dispossess them of any tenement of theirs. . . . nor will I hinder . . . to plough, sow, hoe, mow their lands, or to carry, collect, and take away, or to reap and carry their meadows, or to do their own will concerning all their own affairs; nor will I bring upon them, or cause or permit to be brought upon them, any damage concerning their stud of horses, or concerning all their other animals which they have or shall have, in all their pastures which they have in my fee, on account of any anger which I might have had, or perchance shall have against them. And if they shall catch me a delinquent in anything, or if they do not do me that which by law they ought to do, I will show it to the bailiffs, and I will undertake to make amends therefor by the judgment of the court. And I have sworn that I will observe all these things to the monks aforesaid, during the whole of my life. These being witnesses: Walter de Sullie, then Sheriff of Glamorgan, Richard Flaman, Peter le Butiller, William de Cantilupe, Walter Luvel, Stephen, clerk of Kenfig, Thomas Albas de Kenefeg, Alaithur, Rees Goch, Griffin son of Knaithur, and many others. Endorsed—"General confirmation of Leisan."

Leisan, after he had sworn and recited the deed, knelt in front of the Abbot, and received his blessing.¹

¹ One of Leisan's seals shows the Abbot of Margam on the Abbey throne blessing Leisan with uplifted hand, Leisan kneeling. The Abbot of Margam was mitred, and sat in the House of Lords.

Leisan's seal to this document is still appended.—Date, circa A.D. 1213.

✠ SIGILLWM . LEISAUN . FILLI . MO[RG]AN.

No doubt the day was afterwards given up to rejoicings, for it was an important event, and the Abbey would extend its hospitality to all comers.

It is long since that day, for well-nigh seven hundred summers have passed in their flight—gone in silence, as have all who rejoiced then. It is a long time, yet we to-day can pass through the same door of the old church which Leisan passed through, we can see the same pillars he looked on, as he passed up the church nave. We can stand where he stood, when he touched the most precious wood of the True Cross and the reliques of the Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. But it is on sward we stand, not on the altar step. The high altar is gone with its cross and the relics; the organ is silent, gone, too; the silver dove with golden pyx no longer hangs there waiting, with the precious food for those about to go on their last long journey. All are gone save some walls in ruins, with the Abbot's doorway, and save the dead Abbots lying there. What a glorious chancel it must have been—and now!

I wonder if the monks still come and gaze at so much desolation.

I here offer my grateful thanks to Dr. de Gray Birch for allowing me to draw so freely from his valuable works on Margam; to Mr. Edward Roberts, of Swansea, for his aid in place-names—in place-name researches he is *facile princeps*; to Lieut.-Col. David, Maesgwyn; and to Mr. Lipscomb, Margam, for kind help.

NOTE.—Since I wrote Part I of these Notes, I have discovered the location of Terrys Grange (see vol. lix, p. 166). The buildings of the Grange no longer exist, but its lands are in Hafody-Porth, on Mynydd Embroch. Terrys stands for Ty Rhŷs. The ruins of a small building on the lands of the Grange are called Ty Rhŷs-yr-allt.

ERRATA.

Part I, vol. lix, p. 181, line 9 from bottom, for "east," read "west."

Part II, p. 15, note 2, line 4, for "There is," read "There are."
P. 16, note 1, line 1, for "Carta Morgian," read "Carta Morgani."



CAN VOTIVE OFFERINGS BE TREASURE TROVE?

(Read 18th May, 1904.)

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P.



ON a former occasion¹ I had the honour of submitting to your consideration a Paper on the English law of Treasure Trove, as it is affected by the decision of Mr. Justice Farwell in the case of the Attorney-General *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum: in reference to the find of gold articles turned up by the plough in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, in the County of Londonderry, and claimed by the Crown as Treasure Trove; the defence being that these articles must have been votive offerings to a river deity, and as such not coming within the definition of that branch of the Royal Prerogative.

The learned judge decided in favour of the Crown, on the ground that the circumstances under which the discovery was made showed a *prima facie* title in the Crown, which was not rebutted by the evidence given in support of the defence, which was deficient in not showing the existence of an Irish sea god—of a custom to make votive offerings in Ireland during the period suggested (between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D.), and the existence of kings or chiefs who would be likely to make such votive offerings; and he did not, therefore, express any opinion on a point raised by the Attorney-General that votive

¹ 16th Dec., 1903.

offerings as such may be Treasure Trove. It is this question I now submit for your consideration.

In order to bring any articles of gold or silver within the definition of Treasure Trove (as I showed in my previous Paper), they must have been concealed, or hidden, under circumstances which lead to the presumption that the owner intended to resume possession. "But (in the language of Mr. Justice Farwell) if the owner casually lost the treasure, or purposely parted with it in such a manner that it is evident he intended to abandon the property altogether, and did not purpose to resume it on another occasion, the first finder is entitled to the property as against everyone but the owner, and the King's prerogative does not in this respect obtain."

It is, therefore, the intention of the owner to be gathered from the circumstances which must be the guide to the solution of the question before us; and this involves an inquiry into the nature and object of votive offerings.

Votive offerings are the natural outcome of those religious instincts which, from the earliest period of the untutored primitive man down to the period of the philosophical religions of more civilised states, found the outward expression of their hopes and fears idealised into "the Lords many and Gods many" of heathen mythology; and which, after the advent of Christianity, have left their influence in the superstitious ideas and practices which are still to be found interwoven with belief in a more spiritual faith.

Commencing with the direct worship of material objects, it was afterwards transferred to tutelary deities who were supposed to control the forces of nature, and who could be appeased by gifts and intercession to promote the wishes and avenge the wrongs of their suppliants: from which arose a system of mythology with a recognised hierarchy and ritual.

The instances of these gifts throughout the pages of ancient literature are too many to be other than casually alluded to; but reference to a few of them may help to explain the motives which prompted these

gifts, and so help to solve the problem we have taken in hand.

Braund, in his *Popular Antiquities*,¹ quoting the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii, p. 463, says: "We read the same credulity that gives air-formed inhabitants to Green Hillocks and Solitary Groves, has given their portion of genii to Rivers and Fountains. The presiding spirit of that element in Celtic Mythology was called Neithe. The primitive of this word signifies to wash or purify with water. To this day Fountains are regarded with veneration over every part of the Highlands. The sick who resort to them for health address their vows to the presiding powers, and offer presents to conciliate their favour. These presents generally consist of a small piece of money, or a few fragrant flowers. The vulgar, in many parts of the Highlands, even at present, not only pay a sacred regard to particular Fountains, but are firmly persuaded that certain Lakes are inhabited by Spirits. In Strathspey there is a lake called "Lochrian Spioradan," the "Lake of Spirits." Two frequently make their appearance: the Horse, and the Bull of the Water. The Mermaid is another."

Macaulay, in his *History of St. Kilda* (p. 95), speaking of a consecrated well in that island called "Tobirninolondh," or "the Spring of divers Virtues," says that "near the Fountain stood an altar on which the distressed votaries laid down their oblations. Before they could touch sacred water with any prospect of success, it was their constant practice to address the Genius of the place with supplication and prayers. No one approached him with empty hands. But the Devotees were abundantly frugal. The offerings presented by them were the poorest acknowledgments that could be made to a superior Being from whom they had either hopes or fears: shells and pebbles, bags of linen or stuffs worn out, pins, needles, or rusty nails, were generally all the tribute that was paid; and sometimes, though rarely enough, copper coins of the smallest value."

In the recent excavations made in the buried ruins of

¹ Vol. ii, p. 266 (n.), Ed. 1813, by Henry Ellis.

Khotan were found painted tablets of wood, discovered in the ruined temples of Dandau Uilig, as undoubtedly still in the same position in which they had been originally deposited as the votive offerings of pious worshippers.¹

Readers of Latin and Greek classics will call to mind the reference by Horace in his Ode to Pyrrha,² to the custom of shipwrecked mariners, "who had 'scaped the whelming tide," hanging up their dripping vests in Neptune's Temple: a custom still common at seaports on the Continent; and the presentation of a kid to the Brundusian fountain on its dedication.³ There was also the custom of placing an obolus in the mouth of a corpse, as a fee to "that grim ferryman which poets write of," for a safe passage "over the melancholy flood." And the Greeks frequently dedicated a lock of their hair to rivers, of which the vow of Peleus to offer his son Achilles' yellow hair to the River Spercius, if he returned home in safety, is a well-known example: though the performance of that vow was frustrated by Achilles, at the obsequies of Patroclus, by himself cutting off his golden locks, and placing them in his friend's hands to accompany him to the Stygian shore, on his (Achilles') premonition that he should not return to his native land.⁴ And at the present day, in those far-off wilds not yet reached by civilisation, but only occasionally visited by explorers, the ignorance and primitive beliefs still await their development to a higher level. The late Mary Kingsley, in her *West African Studies*,⁵ says: "You will see him [the native] bending over the face of a river, talking to its spirit with proper incantations; asking it, when it meets a man who is an enemy of his, to upset his canoe or drown him; or asking it to carry down with it some curse to the village below, which has angered him; and in a thousand other ways he shows you what he believes, if you will watch him patiently."

¹ Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, Chinese Turkestan* [1903].

² Lib. I, Ode v.

³ Lib. III, Ode xiii

⁴ *Il.*, Lib. xxiii, v. 135 *et seqq.*

⁵ P. 130.

But the following looks like the dawn of better instinct. She goes on to say :—¹

“It is a low-down thing to dig up your father—i.e., open his grave, and take away the things in it that have been given him. It will get you cut by respectable people, and rude people, when there is a market-place row on, will mention it freely ; but it won’t bring on a devastating outbreak of small pox in the whole district.”

Mr. H. Risley, in his Report on the last Indian Census, says : “At the time of the spring equinox there is a festival called Sri Paucharmi, when it is incumbent on every religious-minded person to worship the implements or insignia of the vocation by which he lives ; and that every year, when the Government of India moves from Simla to Calcutta, there go with it, as orderlies or *chaprasis*, a number of cultivators from the hills round about Simla, who are employed to carry about despatch-boxes, and to attend upon the various grades of officials in that great bureaucracy. The ritual observed at the festival which was held two years ago, consisted of an office despatch-box, which served as an altar, in the centre of which was placed, as the principal fetish, a common English glass ink-pot, with a screw top ; and round it were arranged various sorts of stationery and other clerkly paraphernalia used in the Government offices, and the whole was festooned with abundant coils of red tape.” Politic subjects of a mighty empire, who, in default of opportunity of worshipping “the means whereby they live,” join in a ritual symbolical of the official routine in which they and their rulers are entangled !

Will, then, the circumstances under which gold and silver found in the earth after long deposit, in the absence of any known owner, raise any presumption, in the absence of direct proof, that votive offerings can be included in this branch of the Royal Prerogative ? To answer this question, reference must be made to that part of the recent judgment, which says that “the Crown must first prove a *prima facie* case ; but, when they have done so, the defendants must defeat that title by producing a

¹ P. 135.

better title." If, therefore, the Crown shows that the things found were concealed, and no owner is known, the evidence is sufficient to give the Crown a title ; unless it is rebutted by facts showing or raising a judicial presumption that there had been an abandonment by the owner of his own right,¹ without any intention of resuming possession. This condition applies to the case of votive offerings which cannot, therefore, belong to the Crown. This is particularly exemplified in the case of things found in tombs, intended for the use of the deceased in his future existence, which were not concealed in the proper sense of the term, but deposited as his own property, or an absolute and irrevocable gift : therefore, there could be no intention on the part of the depositors to resume possession which, in their belief, had never passed from the deceased.

Much as it may be deprecated that, in the pursuit of science, and still more of the greed of gain, the repose of the dead should be disturbed and their sepulchres rifled, it may be some relief to those who feel aggrieved by what has been the practice of the Treasury, to know that the claims of the Crown in these cases previously submitted to, still await a judicial decision as to their legality, which there is good reason to hope will be against those claims.

In the accompanying Appendix I give an epitome of the Indian law of Treasure Trove, which might very well be taken as a model in any future modification of the English Law.

¹ Counsel for the defence argued that their case was, that it was "not a case of abandonment, but a case of a votive offering made to a deity ;" but surely the term "abandonment" cannot be confined only to the material thing abandoned, but must include the renunciation of any future right in the owner, and thus take the case out of the Royal Prerogative, whether offered to a deity or otherwise.

APPENDIX.

INDIAN EMPIRE.

EPITOME OF ACT VI OF 1878 (AS MODIFIED BY ACT XII OF 1891),
TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO TREASURE TROVE.

*Passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.
Assent by the Governor-General, 18th February, 1878.*

1. Short Title, "The Indian Treasure-Trove Act, 1878." Extends to the whole of British India.

2. Repealed by the Repealing and Amending Act, 1891.

3. In this Act "treasure" means anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto.

"Collector" means (1) any Revenue officer in independent charge of a district, and (2) any officer appointed by the Local Government to perform the functions of a Collector under this Act.

When any person is entitled, under any reservation in an instrument of transfer of any land or thing affixed thereto, to treasure in such land or thing, he shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be the owner of such land or thing.

4. Whenever any treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees is found, the finder shall, as soon as practicable, give to the Collector notice in writing:—

- (a) Of the nature and amount or proximate value of such treasure.
- (b) Of the place in which it was found;
- (c) Of the date of the finding;

and either deposit the treasure in the nearest Government Treasury, or give the Collector such security as the Collector thinks fit, to produce the treasure as he may require.

5. On receiving notice, the Collector shall, after enquiry (if any) as he may think fit, take the following steps:—

- (a) He shall publish a notification as the Local Government prescribes, requiring all persons claiming the treasure, or any part thereof, to appear before the Collector on a day and at a place named, not earlier than four months, or later than six months, after notification.
- (b) When the place in which the treasure appears to the Collector to have been found was, at the date of the finding, in possession of some person other than the finder, the Collector shall also serve on such person a special notice in writing to the same effect.

6. Owner of the place where treasure found or otherwise not appearing shall forfeit such right.

7. On day appointed, Collector shall enquire and determine :—

(a) The person by whom, the place in which, and the circumstances under which, the treasure was found ;

(b) As far as possible, the person by whom, and the circumstances under which the treasure was hidden.

8. If Collector sees reason to believe that the treasure was hidden within one hundred years before the date of the finding, by a person appearing as required by the said notification and claiming such treasure, or by some other person under whom such person claims, time shall be given for a suit in the Civil Court by the claimant to establish his right.

9. If Collector finds the treasure was not hidden, or if no suit is instituted within the time allowed, or the Plaintiff's claim is finally rejected—

The Collector may declare the treasure to be ownerless ; subject to appeal within two months to the chief controlling Revenue authority.

Subject to such appeal, every such declaration shall be conclusive.

10. Where a declaration has been made under Sec. 9, such treasure shall, in accordance with the provisions following, either be delivered to the finder, or divided between him and the owner of the place of finding.

11. Where no other person than finder claims as owner of place, the treasure is to be given to finder.

12. Where only one such person, other than finder, claims, and the claim is not disputed by the finder, the treasure, in the absence of agreement between the finder and the claimant, is to be divided between them, three-fourths to finder and the residue to the claimant. If an agreement has been entered into, the treasure shall be disposed of in accordance therewith.

Provided that the Collector may, instead of dividing the treasure,—

(a) Allot to either party the whole or more than his share, on payment of an equivalent, or

(b) Sell such treasure or any portion thereof by public auction, and divide the sale proceeds between the parties as before mentioned.

Provided also, that when the Collector has by his declaration under Sect. 9 rejected any claim by any person other than the finder, or person claiming as owner of the place in which the treasure was found, division shall not be made until after the

expiration of two months, without an appeal having been presented under Sect. 9 by the person whose claim has been rejected or appeal dismissed.

13. In case of dispute as to ownership of place, proceedings to be stayed pending application to a Civil Court,

(14) to be instituted within a month, in which the finder and all persons disputing the claim shall be defendants.

15. If plaintiff's claim be finally established, the treasure, subject to provisions of Sect. 12, shall be divided between him and the finder.

If no suit instituted, or all claims finally rejected, the Collector shall deliver the treasure to the finder.

16. Collector may at any time, after making a declaration under Sect. 9, and before dividing or delivering the treasure, declare by writing his intention to acquire, on behalf of the Government, the treasure or any specific portion thereof, by payment to the persons entitled of a sum equal to the value of the materials of the treasure or portion, together with one-fifth of such value; and may place such sum in deposit in his treasury to the credit of such persons; and thereupon the treasure or portion shall be deemed to be the property of the Government, and the money deposited dealt with as if it were such treasure or portion.

17. Decision of Collector final, and no suits against him for acts done *bonâ fide*.

18. Collector may exercise powers of Civil Court.

19. The Local Government may make rules to regulate proceedings.

20. Penalty on finder failing to give notice, etc., required by Sect. 4, or attempt to conceal identity of treasure, his share, or money in lieu thereof, to vest in Her Majesty, and fine or imprisonment, extending to one year, or both.

21. Penalty on owner abetting offence under Sect. 20, similar to that Sect. except that imprisonment limited to six months.





NOTES ON DURHAM AND OTHER NORTH-COUNTRY SANCTUARIES.

By R. H. FORSTER, Esq., HON. TREASURER.

(Read May 18th, 1904).



IN dealing with the subject of mediæval sanctuaries, it is necessary to begin by drawing a clear distinction between two classes :—

1. To a limited extent all parish churches were sanctuaries. An offender might escape the extreme penalty of the law by taking refuge in a parish church, and abjuring the realm in the presence of the coroner of the district.
2. A certain number of important churches—some of them monastic and some secular foundations—possessed more extensive privileges, which enabled them to protect the fugitive within certain territorial limits : at least for a considerable period, and in later times permanently.

Cases coming under the former of these heads seem to have been common enough, especially in the unruly districts of the North of England. Many examples are to be found in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls* of the years 1256 and 1279, which have been printed by the Surtees Society (vol. 88) ; for in every case a presentment of the fact, and of the value of the fugitive's property, was made to the King's Justices, who held the Sheriff or Coroner responsible for the forfeiture, and fined the townships which failed to arrest the criminal before he reached the church, or allowed him to escape after he had once taken refuge there. In the majority of cases the

offender seems to have been an habitual criminal, making a last desperate bid for life when the shadow of the gallows was already upon him; and not infrequently he takes sanctuary after breaking out of prison. For instance :—

“ Robertus de Cregling et Jacobus le Escoc’, duo extranei, capti fuerunt pro suspicione latrocinii per ballivos Willelmi de Valencia, et imprisonati in priona ejusdem Willelmi apud Rowebyr’ (Rothbury). Et prædictus Robertus postea evasit de priona illa ad ecclesiam de Rowebyr’ et cognovit ibi latrocinium et abjuravit regnum coram Willelmo de Baumburg’, tunc coronatore” (*Northumberland Assize Rolls*, p. 74).

Sanctuaries of the second and more important class were, of course, much more limited in number: there were about thirty in various parts of England, and (speaking generally) their characteristics were much the same: the fugitive came to the church, and was admitted to the privileges of sanctuary with certain formalities; in some cases he was given a distinctive badge or dress, and so long as he remained within the protected area he was safe from legal punishment or private suit. The principal sanctuaries of the North of England were Durham, a Benedictine abbey; Tynemouth, a Benedictine priory, subordinate to St. Alban’s; Hexham, an Augustinian monastery under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York; York, Ripon, and Beverley, all served by colleges of secular canons, and all owning the same Archbishop as their superior lord. Wetheral, in Cumberland, a cell of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary’s, York, enjoyed similar privileges; and there is some trace of sanctuary rights attaching to a small priory at Carham by the Tweed, a cell of the Augustinian house of Kirkham, in Yorkshire.

The manner in which the privileges of these places were instituted, and their extent in the early days of their history, is involved in much obscurity. Hexham claimed to derive its sanctuary from a grant made by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, to Wilfred, the founder of the monastery, about the year 675; Ripon and Beverley are said to have been similarly enfranchised by King Athelstan, York by Edward the Confessor. But even if we assume these claims to be well founded—and the

name of Athelstan was always a favourite peg to hang a legend on—it is probable that the original grants were not so extensive as the privileges which we find in existence centuries later. At Durham, tradition limited the original grant to a period of thirty-seven days; at Beverley, the fugitive is said to have obtained thirty days' protection for the first and second time of taking sanctuary, and to have become "*serviens ecclesiæ imperpetuum*" if he came a third time; but neither of these accounts agrees with the records of a later time, and, if true, they represent an early stage in the history of sanctuaries. In all probability the privileges of a sanctuary were a matter of growth, and that growth proceeded from two main sources of nourishment:—

1. The reputation of the particular church, generally due to the possession of the relics of a well-known saint; and
2. The acquisition of an independent temporal jurisdiction over a certain territory.

It is interesting to note that the saint is in many cases distinctively English: Edward the Confessor at Westminster, Etheldreda at Ely, Edmund at Bury St. Edmund's, John at Beverley, Wilfrid at Ripon, Cuthbert at Durham, Oswin at Tynemouth, Acca, Alchmund, and others at Hexham; while the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, and his coming to Britain, brought Glastonbury into prominence as a monastery and sanctuary. York Minster was, no doubt, a sanctuary before St. William of York became Archbishop; but the miracles alleged to have been performed at his tomb after his death, in 1154, must have greatly increased the reputation of the place. Generally speaking, the saint whose relics were thus effective was not the saint—or, at any rate, not the principal saint—of the dedication.

Religious sanctions, no doubt, protected the privileges of a sanctuary, and would tend to enlarge them. To the mediæval mind a saint—and especially a native saint—was a very real and often a very terrible person: jealous of the prerogatives and prompt to punish any interference with the rights of his church. Kings desired his inter-

cession, and occasionally showed a lively sense of favours, past or future, by adding not only to the wealth but also to the power of those who had the custody of his relics; while legends became current of miracles by which violation of the sanctuary had been prevented or punished, and it was against the interest of monastic historians to be critical. But religious influences alone could not have made these sanctuaries what they were in the period immediately preceding the dissolution of the monasteries; they were only the secondary cause of that development, which was more directly due to the acquisition of the widest form of independent civil jurisdiction, known as *jura regalia*, or Liberty Royal.

Here again the *Northumberland Assize Rolls*, already referred to, come to our assistance. They show that these independent territories had their own officers and legal establishment, and that the royal officials were not allowed to interfere in their government, or even to cross their boundaries, although at the date in question these rights had not in all cases crystallised, so to speak, and were still regarded with jealousy by the King's Justices and the jurors of unprivileged parts of the county. For instance, we read in the Roll of 1256, that William de Erlington, of Scotland, beat William, son of Ralph of Lipwood, at Hexham, so that the latter died within a month. The offender fled and was outlawed: he had no property to be confiscated, "*eo quod de Scotia*"—because he was a Scotchman—and no information could be obtained "*de attachiamento*," i.e., as to who was responsible for his escaping arrest—"eo quod ballivi ejusdem libertatis non permittunt coronatores nec vicecomites intrare libertatem illam" (*N. A. R.*, p. 86).

Indeed, we may here see the sanctuaries of Hexham and Tynemouth in the making, so to speak. The Prior of Tynemouth, according to a presentment made in 1279, "*habet retorum brevium, et tenet placita de namio vetito, et habet wreckum maris et alia quæ ad coronam pertinent, per cartas Regum Angliæ prædecessorum Regis nunc, et habet furcas et assisam panis et cerevisiæ a tempore Regis Henrici, filii Wilelmi Regis Conquaestoris*" (*N. A. R.*, p. 358). The rights of the Archbishop of

York in Hexhamshire are described in similar terms: both had, in fact, *jura regalia*, and these privileges were to be claimed in a particular manner, whenever the King's Justices entered Northumberland; but, apparently, the Justices were not disposed to admit the right to harbour fugitive offenders. For instance:—

“Willelmus Faber percussit Rogerum Paraventur’ quodam knipulo in ventre et statim fugit et malecreditur: ideo exigatur et utlagetur. Postea testatum est quod idem Willelmus receptatus fuit apud Tinemue in libertate Prioris de Tinemue. Ideo præceptum est vicecomiti quod venire faciat prædictum Priorem ad ostendendum quo varanto recepit felonem in terra sua” (*N. A. R.*, p. 338).

“Robertus de Virly remanens in prisona de Novo Castro quousque quidam Hugo de Berwick clericus, Robertus de Seghal clericus, Thomas de Wodeslak diaconus, et Bartholomæus Russel capellanus noctanter venerunt ad dictam prisonam et eam fregerunt et prædictum Robertum ceperunt et abduxerunt usque ad capellam de Gesemue et ibidem dimiserunt; qui quidem Robertus inde recessit et fugit in libertatem de Tynemouth, et ibidem receptatus est. Ideo ad iudicium de eadem libertate” (*N. A. R.*, p. 368).

One or two similar entries occur in connection with Hexham; but, unfortunately, the Roll contains no sequel to any of these stories. However, in 1342 we find both places treated as permanent sanctuaries. On July 5th of that year, Edward III issued a charter, empowering “our beloved cousin and liegeman, Edward de Baliol, King of Scotland, to treat with and enlist for service beyond the border, “homines vocatos *grithmen* apud Beverlacum, Riponiam, Tynemuth, Hextildesham, et Wederhale, et alibi, in libertate ecclesiastica pro immunitate ibidem ratione feloniarum per ipsos factarum optinenda existentes.” Those who volunteered were to be given a free pardon for all felonies committed before Trinity Sunday of that year.

A comparison of dates shows that this offer must refer to men who were permanently domiciled in sanctuary. The charter is dated July 5th, and Trinity Sunday fell on May 26th, forty days earlier. If the traditional account of a thirty days’ protection at Beverley were true of this period, it is clear that Edward Baliol would find very few “grithmen” there whose offences had been committed before

Trinity Sunday, and the whole scheme would become illusory. In fact, no sanctuary would be of any use as a recruiting-ground for a particular campaign, unless its "grithmen" were fairly numerous; and they could not become numerous if they were turned out of sanctuary after a certain number of days.

It will be noticed that in this charter there is no mention of Durham, and the omission may seem to indicate that Durham was not a place of permanent sanctuary. There are, however, two reasons for its exclusion. First, the exemption of the people of the Palatinate from military service beyond their own borders was a privilege jealously guarded and constantly asserted, both by the people against the Bishop, and by the Bishop against the King. Secondly, it is probable that the Bishop himself was raising men for the army which was to support Baliol: during the preceding winter he had at his own cost supplied and maintained twenty men-at-arms and as many mounted archers, and Edward III had given him a special charter to safeguard the rights of the Bishopric. He had also to provide for the protection of his territories of Norhamshire and Islandshire, in the northernmost corner of England, as well as for the garrison of Norham Castle; and in any case the Bishop of Durham was much too great a potentate to allow recruiting within his dominions, even under licence of the King himself.

We have had a reference to "grithmen," "in libertate ecclesiastica existentes," and the question now arises of the limits within which they lived. In the book known as *The Rites of Durham*, it is stated that the Durham sanctuary precinct was the church and churchyard. At York, Beverley, and Hexham there was, so to speak, a graduated scale, of which we may take Hexham as an example. At that place, as we read in Prior Richard's history, there were four crosses, each a mile from the church in different directions, and these marked the boundaries of the sanctuary to an incoming fugitive. The penalty for arresting one who had entered this area was two *hundreth*, or sixteen pounds; if the seizure were made "*infra villam*," the penalty was four *hundreth*; if "*infra muros atrii ecclesiæ*," six *hundreth*; if within the

church itself, twelve *hundreth* and penance, "sicut de sacrilegiis;" but if any one "vesano spiritu agitatus, diabolico ausu quemquam capere præsumpserit in cathedra lapidea juxta altare quam Angli vocant *fridstol*, id est cathedram quietudinis vel pacis, vel etiam ad feretrum sanctarum reliquiarum quod est post altare"—then the offence was *botolos*, and could not be purged by any monetary payment.

It is clear that these limits apply primarily to the case of a fugitive approaching the sanctuary. Was the protected area the same for one who had been duly admitted and made a "grithman"? Possibly this may have been so in early times, and even up to the first half of the twelfth century, during which period Prior Richard wrote. It was not until about the year 1100 that Hexhamshire came into the possession of the Archbishop of York, and the extension of sanctuary privileges by means of temporal jurisdiction was probably a gradual process: during the thirteenth century Hexhamshire is in some documents described as a "manerium;" but as early as 1120 the Bull which Archbishop Thurstan obtained from Calixtus II speaks of the "*libertatis consuetudines*" of York, Hexham, Beverley, and Ripon: *libertas* is the term most frequently used in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls*; and in letters and deeds of the fourteenth and following centuries *libertas* occurs regularly, except when the matter referred to is purely spiritual, in which case the usual word is *jurisdictio*.

Now this word *libertas* is habitually used in connection with places of sanctuary, and in mediæval times it almost invariably denoted a definite territory over which some person had special jurisdiction. This fact, together with several expressions presently to be quoted from the Durham Registers, make it appear probable that when once a jurisdiction of this kind was established in connection with a sanctuary, the "grithman" was free to live anywhere within the territory over which that jurisdiction extended. In many cases, no doubt, the distinction would be of little importance; but in two North-Country instances the sphere becomes greatly enlarged. The liberty, franchise, or regality of Hexham covered an area

of about ninety square miles ; and I shall endeavour to show that the "grithman" of Durham was free to remain within the boundaries of the Bishopric, as it was anciently called—that is to say, within the boundaries of the County Palatine.

Of the origin and early history of the sanctuary of Durham we have only meagre information. In the year 750, Offa, the son of Alfrid, fled to the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, but King Eadbert blockaded the church till his victim was starved into submission. Here we have no mention of any special privilege, though perhaps the King would have taken more peremptory measures if the church had been one of less reputation. In the following century we come upon what was—or at least was in early times believed to be—the origin of the sanctuary rights of Durham. After a period of anarchy, which followed the Danish invasion of 875 and the death of its leader Halfdene, Eadred, Abbot of Luerchester, or Luelchester—i.e., Carlisle—(so says a *Life of St. Cuthbert* by an anonymous author of early date) was, in a dream, by that Saint commanded to redeem Guthred, son of Hardecnut, a youth of the Danish royal blood, who had been sold as a slave to a certain widow of Whittingham ; he was to direct the Danish masters of Northumbria to make Guthred their king, and Guthred was to give to St. Cuthbert all the land between Wear and Tyne, and to ordain that fugitives coming to the shrine of the Saint should have peace for thirty-seven days and nights. Symeon of Durham repeats the story, and adds that Guthred reigned at York, while Egbert remained King of the Northumbrians of Bernicia.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact historical basis of the story, but it is clear that Halfdene was a heathen and Guthred a Christian King ; possibly his conversion occurred while he was a slave at Whittingham. But, at any rate, Guthred's elevation brought the wanderings of the monks of Lindisfarne with St. Cuthbert's body to an end at last, and made possible the re-establishment of the See at Chester-le-Street, whence it was moved to Durham about a century later. Alfred the Great joined with Guthred in confirming and enlarging the possessions

and privileges of St. Cuthbert, and the two conferred upon the Saint, "in augmentum prioris episcopatus," all the land between Tyne and Tees. Possibly it may have been Alfred's policy to erect a strong ecclesiastical authority between the two subordinate kingdoms; and, certainly the *jura regalia* of the Bishops of Durham were of very early origin: during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these rights were not infrequently challenged by the Crown, and always successfully maintained by the Bishop, merely on the plea that they had been enjoyed from time immemorial, both before the Conquest and after.

This period of thirty-seven days was very possibly the limit of the original privilege of St. Cuthbert's shrine. It was a very considerable enlargement of the sanctuary rights of an ordinary church, which were limited to three nights' protection by the laws of Alfred, promulgated in 887, four years after Guthred's elevation; and at a time when homicide was regarded as an offence rather against the individual and his kinsmen than against the State, to be expiated by monetary compensation rather than by legal punishment, this limited protection was probably adequate. But in course of time there arose the more modern conception of crime as an offence against the King's peace, to be punished by the King's officers; and, as the organisation of the country improved, a protection limited to thirty-seven days would become more and more illusory.

Meanwhile, the Bishopric of Durham had grown into that "imperium in imperio" which we find existing in post-Conquest days. "In such places where libertie royall is," says a document of the time of Bishop Fox, about the end of the fifteenth century, "there the Kinges writte renneth not nor noon of the Kinges officers nor ministers can or may, be the Kinges write or other commaundment, entre, doo any office or sease on lands by way of eschets or forfeiture." Who could interfere with the "grithman," after the thirty-seven days were over, if the Bishop's officers left him alone? The Sheriffs and Coroners of the adjoining counties could not touch him, and private vengeance would not lightly risk a quarrel

with a prelate who, in his own domain, was as powerful as the King himself. The Bishop of Durham had his own courts, civil as well as spiritual—one of them is still in existence—and his own judicial and executive officers; he issued his own writs and coined his own money; he could hold his own parliaments and create his own barons. The King in Parliament was his only temporal superior.

Two questions here suggest themselves: If royal officials could not enter the Bishopric, why did fugitives trouble to go through the formality of taking sanctuary at Durham? And why did the Bishops of Durham allow criminals to remain in their territory? In the first place, there is no reason to suppose that every fugitive *did* formally take sanctuary. The *Northumberland Assize Roll* of 1279 records a case in which several men of good family came from Farnacres, a place just within the northern boundary of the Bishopric, broke into a house near Newcastle, and fled “*usque in libertatem Episcopi Dunelmensis apud Farnacres*” (*N. A. R.*, p. 343). Some form of pursuit, too, may have been permissible. In the *Roll* of 1256 we find a man “*ductus ad castrum de Novo Castro, et ipse saltavit ultra murum castri et fugit ad ecclesiam de Gatesheved*” (*N. A. R.*, p. 96), where he abjured the realm before the Bishop’s Coroner. He may have been trying to reach Durham, and have found the pursuit too hot for him; but it is certainly curious that the crimes which he confesses in the church of Gateshead are not those for which he had been imprisoned at Newcastle; and he may have been “wanted” by the authorities of either county. But, speaking generally, the duly-admitted “grithman” was probably much more secure from private reprisals; in any case, custom must have had much to do with the practice, and formalities die hard. If we are to believe the *Rites of Durham*, perhaps we get the best reason of all in the fact that the newly-admitted “grithman” was lodged and boarded at the expense of the convent for thirty-seven days.

Custom, too, may supply the answer to the second question, and custom would not lightly be interfered with where custom was the foundation of the whole structure;

nor is it unreasonable to imagine that there was some sort of jealousy between the Royal and the Episcopal officers, and that the latter would be most unwilling to do anything which might be interpreted as a mark of inferiority, or used as a precedent against the Bishop's prerogatives. After all, the evil was less serious than we are apt to suppose; the number of men who took sanctuary during the period for which we have detailed records is not large, and in the great majority of cases the crime was homicide, committed in hot blood or in self-defence. Very few of the applicants can, if we consider the manners of the age, be clearly classed as "undesirables"; and, in any case, the "grithman" who settled in the county would be a marked man. The Bishop's gallows were ready for him if he did not mend his ways; and if he did mend them, then the Bishopric profited, especially if the fugitive was a skilled workman or a man of property.

Of the growth of the privileges of Durham sanctuary, from a thirty-seven days' protection to a permanent immunity, there is practically no documentary evidence. We find charters confirming the liberties and customs of the Bishopric, but only in general terms which make no mention of this particular privilege; but this goes to prove that the growth was the natural consequence of the Bishop's *jura regalia*, and not the outcome of any definite grant. We find some instances in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls* of offenders taking refuge in the Bishopric, the legal effect being apparently the same as if they had fled to Scotland: and we catch what may be a glimpse of it in the "History of Robert de Graystones." Edward II, we read, had intended during a vacancy of the See to send his own Justices into the Palatinate; but the inhabitants of the county, conjecturing that much vexation and loss would fall upon them in consequence, persuaded Richard de Kellow, the newly-elected but as yet unconsecrated Bishop, "ut redemptionem faceret"—in plain English, to bribe the King to leave them alone. It is possible that during a vacancy of the See a "grithman's" position became in theory precarious: the King being in possession of the temporalities, the

King's Justices might have interfered with him. But in practice this does not seem to have occurred, at any rate in later times. The See was vacant from May 5th, 1505, when Bishop Senhous died, to October 15th, 1507, when Bishop Bainbridge was appointed; and during that time twenty-three cases occur, which is above the average. If men were allowed to take sanctuary while the King was in possession of the temporalities, it is not likely that "grithmen" of the deceased Bishop's time were disturbed.

For direct evidence concerning the sanctuary of Durham, we must pass on to the last period of the Abbey's monastic existence—to the entries relating to the subject in the Cathedral Registers, and to the account given by the author of the *Rites of Durham*. From these sources we learn what was the state of affairs at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries; and it may be convenient at this point to give some description of the process of taking sanctuary at Durham at that period.

The fugitive came to the north door of the nave, "knocking and rapping on yt to have yt opened"—of course with the famous twelfth-century knocker, which still exists. He was "letten in" by "certen men that did lie alwaies in two chambers over the said north church door," and on being admitted he "did rynne streight waye to the Galleley bell and tould it," so says the author of the *Rites of Durham*. The register entries usually have "pulsatis campanis" in the plural; sometimes "pulsata campana," and once "per pulsacionem unius campanæ, ut moris est." In any case, the bell used would be one of those which hung in the north-west tower, called the Galilee Steeple, a tower adjacent to, but distinct from and older than the Galilee. "In the weste end of the Church," says the same work, "in the north allie, and over the Galleley dour ther, in a belfray called the Galleley Steple, did hing iiij goodly great bells."

The next formality was the claim, admission, and registration of the fugitive. In the *Rites of Durham* we read that "when the prior had intelligence thereof"—i.e., of the fugitive's arrival—"then he dyd send word,

and commanding them that they should keape themselves within the Sanctuary, that is to saie within the Church and Churchyard ;" but probably this injunction applied to the interval between arrival and formal admission. The fugitive might reach Durham at any hour of the day or night ; and in most cases some time would elapse before an official of the convent and the necessary witnesses were ready for the ceremony of admission.

This ceremony is sometimes expressly stated to have taken place in the nave ; once it was performed in the Sacrist's Exchequer, which stood in the north aisle of the choir, and once "in domo registrali ;" but in most cases no place is recorded, and probably it took place wherever happened to be most convenient. The petitioner seems to have made—and at least in one case to have signed—a statement of the circumstances which led to his taking sanctuary ; but there is no record of an administration of an oath of fidelity, as was the practice at Beverley, though in one or two cases the man is stated to have sworn that he was innocent of the crime alleged against him. The presiding official was most often the Sacrist ; but on some occasions the Chancellor of the Cathedral, sometimes the Sub-Prior, and sometimes a monk who was qualified as a Notary Public. The witnesses, whose names are recorded, were of various ranks and occupations ; sometimes the fugitive's friends or relatives accompanied him to Durham, perhaps with the intention of helping him to resist arrest ; sometimes the witnesses were monks, servants, or clerks of the convent officials, and sometimes the masons engaged in the repair of the fabric were called down from their work ; but very often the witnesses were chance spectators, or persons attracted by curiosity. The ceremony must have been something of a show, and (if the registers have been accurately kept) a rarer show than we are apt to imagine. The earliest entry is dated 1464, and the second does not occur till 1477 ; which suggests that even if 1464 is a clerical error for 1474, the practice of registration came gradually into use ; for it must be remembered that the Durham entries were not made in a special book, such as

appears to have been kept at Beverley, but occur in the ordinary course of business in the Registers of the Cathedral. However, from 1477 to 1524, the record seems to be fairly complete. The largest number of entries occurs in 1519, when 22 men took sanctuary; 21 came in 1506, the same number in 1507, 18 in 1517, and 17 in 1515; but out of forty-seven years, only eight have more than ten entries. The average is slightly under six, and in the years 1480, 1497, and 1520 no entry occurs. The last entry is dated September 10th, 1524, and we cannot tell why the practice of registration was given up; but it may be more than a coincidence that, about eighteen months before that date, Wolsey became Bishop of Durham. It is possible that he used his power to limit, and gradually to suppress, a custom which, as the King's minister, he must have regarded with disfavour.

Having thus been duly admitted, the "grithman" (according to the *Rites of Durham*) was given a gown of black cloth, "maid with a cross of yeallowe cloth, called St. Cuthbert's Cross, sett on the lefte shoulder of his arme." He was allowed to lie "within the church or Saunctuary in a grate . . . standing and adjoining unto the Gallilei dore on the south side," and "had meite, drinke, and bedding, and other necessities of the house cost and charg for 37 days." This grate seems to have shut off the recess on the south side of the south-west tower, and was therefore in the nave and not in the Galilee; for here, as in a previous quotation, the Galilee door means one of the doors which opened into the Galilee from the west end of the nave, through the western walls of the two western towers. These doors were made by Bishop Langley (1406-1437), and it was probably he who closed the original door in the Galilee north wall, which was reopened in 1841. Before Langley's time, the Galilee was entered from the nave by the great west door.

The author of the *Rites of Durham* goes on to state that fugitives were so maintained "unto such tyme as the prior and convent could gett theme conveyed out of the dioces;" and here we come upon matter of

controversy. The evidence of the register entries lends no support to this statement, and much of it points in quite a different direction.

The *Rites of Durham* is a book which professes to have been written in 1593—more than fifty years after the dissolution of the Abbey; and it is said that the handwriting of the earliest MS. shows this date to be approximately correct. It is generally supposed that the anonymous author must have been an inmate of Durham Abbey in his early years; but if so, he must either have been too young at that time to get a detailed knowledge of all that he describes, or he would be too old in 1593 to retain a very trustworthy recollection of what he had seen. The minuteness of many of his descriptions is remarkable and suspicious: it seems impossible “that one small head should carry all he knew,” at any rate for fifty years. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the book is a compilation, drawn partly from ancient records and partly from the reminiscences of more than one old Durham resident, and therefore second-hand at the best. Indeed, in this particular instance, it does not profess to be more, but merely records what happened “in the flourishinge tyme, long before the house of Durham was suppress.” The register entries, on the other hand, are contemporary evidence; they were made by constituted authority in the ordinary course of business, and in case of any conflict of testimony, they must undoubtedly prevail.

The evidence to be derived from these entries (Surtees Soc. Publications, vol. v) may be classed under four heads:—

1. *General Expressions.*—In many entries—for there was no fixed form, and in the later years brevity was in favour—the claimant asks for “immunitatem ecclesiae et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti.” Surely this must mean something more extensive than harbourage for thirty-seven days, followed by expulsion from the county. Is it likely that the most famous and opulent shrine of the North would afford a smaller degree of protection than other sanctuaries, where the “grithman” could live permanently? My suggestion is, that possibly the fugitive was maintained by the convent for thirty-seven days; but that when this period came to an end, the immunity did not come to an end with it, and that the

"grithman" was still protected if he chose to remain within the limits of the Bishop's temporal jurisdiction.

2. *Special Phrases*.—A few entries are more explicit, and seem to record the full title of the privilege which the "grithman" obtained.

- (1.) On July 13th, 1486, Robert Lonysdale and Christofer Lyndesey took sanctuary for homicide at Halgyll in Yorkshire, "pro qua feloniam petunt immunitatem ecclesiæ supradictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam pro se, catallis et bonis suis quibuscunque*."
- (2.) On September 4th, 1491, Robert Henryson took sanctuary for homicide at Berwick; "pro qua feloniam predictus Robertus Heryson instantanter petiit immunitatem ecclesiæ prædictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam*."
- (3.) On August 24th, 1423, Robert Grene took sanctuary for homicide at Newcastle; "pro qua quidem feloniam petiit immunitatem in tuitione sui corporis et bonorum suorum *infra Tynam et Tysam*."
- (4.) On April 11th, 1496, three canons of Egglestone took sanctuary as accessories to a murder; "Idcirco pro tuitione suorum corporum et legis evasione, si forsan indictari poterint ex hac causa, immunitatem petierunt."
- (5.) On December 19th, 1500, Richard Seyll took sanctuary for homicide at Askrigg in Yorkshire; "pro qua feloniam prefatus Ricardus instantanter petiit immunitatem ecclesiæ predictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam*."

Now, what meaning can be attached to such expressions as *immunitas, libertas infra Tynam et Tysam, legis evasio*, and the like, if the protection afforded came to an end in less than six weeks? Why should a man ask for protection for his goods and chattels, if in so short a time he was to be conveyed out of the diocese? It is also to be remarked that the phrase "*infra Tynam et Tysam*," or sometimes more briefly "*inter aquas*," is constantly used as a rough definition of the boundaries of the Bishopric. There is nothing in the details of these cases to differentiate them from others where the words used are simply "*libertas Sancti Cuthberti*," except that there is some indication of their having been written by a clerk who had a pedantic affection for prolix expressions. In each case the account of the crime is introduced by the phrase "*in eo et pro eo quod*," or "*pro eo et ex eo quod*," instead

of the more usual "pro eo quod." The inference seems to be that these words of territorial description ought to be understood in every case, and that the liberty of St. Cuthbert protected the "grithman" and his property within the boundaries of the County Palatine of Durham.

3. *Circumstantial Evidence*.—About the Feast of St. Katherine (November 25th), 1510, Richard Horsley, of Catton, in Hexhamshire, was dragged from his mother's house, and received wounds which caused his death within a month. On December 18th of the same year, William Ratclif, of Catton, took sanctuary at Beverley for being concerned in the murder; on December 28th, Peter Swake and Roland Dale, both of Catton, took sanctuary at Durham, as having been present when the crime was committed; on July 5th, 1511—more than six months later—William Ratclif was admitted to the sanctuary of Durham. The crime recorded is the same, and Peter Swake was one of the witnesses present at his admission.

On August 26th, 1519, Robert Tenant took sanctuary at Durham, "for savegard of my lyf and for savegard of my body from imprisonment, concernyng suche danger as I am in enenst my lord of Northumbreland, for declaracion of accompts"; and he came to Durham from Ripon, where he had previously taken sanctuary for the same reason. In addition to the fact that in the Catton case we find a "grithman" at Durham many months after his admission, these two entries at least suggest that the privileges of Durham were better worth obtaining than those of Ripon or Beverley: as they naturally would be, if the sphere of protection, and therefore the chance of getting a livelihood, were so much more extensive.

On September 12th, 1503, George Birket, of Grissingham, in Lancashire, took sanctuary for homicide. On August 27th, 1505—nearly two years later—we find him witnessing the admission of John Berwick, of Halton, a place within a few miles of Grissingham; and on July 7th, 1519, he again took sanctuary at Durham for the old offence; but this time he is described as of Staindrop, in County Durham.

On August 9th, 1500, John Bulman, of Ripon, took sanctuary for homicide committed at Ripon. On March 24th, 151 $\frac{1}{2}$, he again took sanctuary for what was evidently the same crime; but, on the second occasion, he is described as of Blackwell, a village on the north side of the Tees, close to Darlington and within the Bishopric.

It may be argued that these second admissions for the original offence prove that the protection afforded by the first was not permanent; but, at any rate, we have here

two instances of a "grithman" domiciled within the Bishopric many years after he first took sanctuary; and it is quite possible to account for the second admission in other ways. Probably it was merely a precaution. The very length of the interval—nearly sixteen years in one case and more than eleven in the other—might almost suggest a romantic explanation: that the dead man's son was bred up as the avenger of his father's death; that when he came to manhood he set himself to hunt down the murderer; and that the "grithman," perhaps more from fear of violence than of legal prosecution, made himself safe by a second appeal to St. Cuthbert. Perhaps the immunity was forfeited—or was popularly supposed to be forfeited—if the "grithman" crossed the borders of the county, as he must often have done. In the days when local differences and prejudices were more accentuated than they are to-day, it must have been hard for a man to begin a new life in a strange place. After years of waiting, he may have imagined that the storm had blown over, and so may have ventured back to his old home. Sometimes, no doubt, all went well, and sometimes (as these two cases seem to show) his hopes were disappointed. Certainly, it is significant that the Ripon man settled on the border nearest to Ripon, and the Lancastrian at a village within easy reach of Stainmore: the natural line of communication between Durham and Lancashire.

4. *Topographical Evidence.*—This is to be obtained by examining the places at which the recorded crimes were committed. Yorkshire (including the liberties of York, Ripon, Beverley, and Richmondshire) heads the list with 120 out of 240 entries. Northumberland (including Newcastle, Berwick, and Hexhamshire) comes next with 58. Twenty are from Westmoreland, 13 from Cumberland, 9 from Lancashire, 4 from Middlesex, 3 each from Lincolnshire and Warwickshire, 2 each from Nottinghamshire and Cheshire; and single entries from Surrey, Suffolk, Somerset, Northamptonshire, Derbyshire, and Gloucestershire. There are only 2 entries from County Durham, and with these I shall deal presently.

Now, it is obvious that no sanctuary would protect its own criminals—i.e., that no one could take refuge in a sanctuary for a crime committed within the precincts of

that sanctuary. We have already had some proof of this proposition in the case cited of a murder committed at Hexham, and the following is a still better instance :—

“Alanus filius Laurentii vulneravit Ricardum Arkill’ juxta villam de Haliden *infra libertatem de Hextildesham*. Et dictus Alanus statim fugit *ad pacem de Tynemue*.” (N. A. R., p. 38).

In the Catton murder case we also find the offenders flying to Durham and Beverley, not to Hexham, since the crime was committed within that liberty; and the same holds good of John Bulman, of Ripon.

The Durham and Beverley Registers point the same way. During the period covered by these records, Durham received 10 fugitives from Hexhamshire, 9 from Ripon, 4 from York, 3 from Beverley, and 1 from Tyne-mouth; while Beverley got 16 from the Bishopric, 16 from York, 3 from Ripon, and 1 from Hexhamshire; and in one instance the phrase used is “pro qua quidem feloniam, et omnibus aliis feloniam per ipsos . . . seu eorum alterum *extra libertatem praedictam* qualitercunque perpetratis,” etc. We find a few Beverley men taking sanctuary at Beverley, but in two cases for crimes specifically stated to have been committed elsewhere. In the remaining three instances there is no mention of the place; certainly no direct statement that the crime was committed at Beverley; and since the Beverley entries are, as a rule, much briefer and balder than those of Durham, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in these cases, also, the offence took place outside the sanctuary precinct. Several Bishopric men took sanctuary at Durham, but always for crime committed beyond the borders of the County, except in the two cases with which I have now to deal.

On August 5th, 1505, Roland Ferroure came to the church of Durham, and took sanctuary for having struck one Alexander Marley on the head with a pike-staff, at a place called Pekefield, beside Frosterley, so that he died within eight days. The county is not expressly mentioned, but I can find no other Frosterley than the village near Stanhope, in Weardale, which gave its name to the well-known Frosterley marble, and a place near it

still bears the name Peakfield. Upper Weardale must have been a wild and unfamiliar district in those days, and it is not impossible that the man was admitted by mistake, or perhaps by collusion. At any rate, it is more reasonable to suppose that there was one mistake in 240 cases than to imagine that sanctuary could be taken by criminals of the Bishopric, and that in half a century only one man availed himself of the opportunity.

The other case is one of which the significance has been generally missed. It has been treated as typical of the procedure by which the sanctuary man was "conveyed out of the dioces," whereas every circumstance shows it to be absolutely exceptional.

"Memorandum quod, tercio decimo die mensis Maii, Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCLXXXVII quidam Colson de Wolsyngham, Dunelm., detectus de furto et ratione hujusmodi furti captus et in carcere detrusus, et detentus, tandem a carcere evadens, fugit ad Ecclesiam Cath. Dunelm. propter immunitatem ibidem captandam, et dum ibidem staret prope feretrum Sancti Cuthberti petivit Coronatorem sibi assignari. Cui vero accessit Johannes Raket, coronator Wardae de Cestria in Strata, et cui idem Colson fatebatur feloniam, ibidem præstando juramentum corporale abrenunciandi regno Angliæ et ab eo recedere cum omni celeritate qua commode potuisset, et illuc nunquam revertere, dum quod iurejurando affirmavit ad feretrum S. Cuthberti coram dompno Georgio Cornforth, sacrista ecclesiæ Cath. Dunelm., Radulpho Bowes milite et Vicecomite Dunelm., Johanne Rakett, Roberto Thrylkett Subvicecomite, Hugone Holand, et Nicholao Dixson et multis aliis ibidem presentibus; ratione cujus juramenti omnia ornamenta præfat' Colson ex debito pertinebant præfato Sacristæ et ejus officio; qua vero de causa injunctum erat huic Colson ut exuret (*ita*) se vestimenta sua, usque ad camisiam, et deliberaret ea præfato sacristæ; et fecit et posuit ea vestimenta in voluntate prædicti sacristæ, et sacrista cum habebat ea vestimenta in possessione posita et deliberata, gratis remisit et dedit ei omnia ornamenta sua in quibus ad tunc erat vestitus: et postea ibidem Colson recessit ab ecclesia, et deliberatus erat proximis constabulariis per predictum Vicecomitem, et deinde a constabulariis ad constabularios, cum alba cruce composita de ligno, ut profugus, ducendus usque ad proximum maris portum propter naufragium (read *navigium*) ibi captandum et nunquam recessurus. Acta fuerunt hæc sub Anno Domini, mense, die et loco prædictis."

Now, this is plainly an instance of the former of the two classes of taking sanctuary which I distinguished at

the beginning of this Paper, and might have taken place in any church. The proceedings are, perhaps, more picturesque than usual, and the witnesses are persons of more than ordinary importance; but these features are accessory, and not of the essence of the ceremony. It is possible, no doubt, that the wretched man expected to get regular protection, so I judge from the words "propter immunitatem ibidem captandam;" but if so, he would find to his dismay that he was not eligible for admission as a "grithman," and so he was forced to save his life by the ordinary process of abjuration. Every detail of the entry is unique in the register, and every detail of the ordinary procedure is missing. Finally, there is no mention of the thirty-seven days. It is expressly stated that the whole episode, from the arrival of the fugitive to his departure, took place within the limits of one day, and no more. If this be a typical case, then the immunity of the Church of Durham and the liberty of St. Cuthbert were nothing but an empty phrase, and Durham Cathedral enjoyed no greater privileges than the meanest parish church in the country. Surely, the whole point lies in the fact that Colson's offence was committed within the county, and therefore it could not obtain regular sanctuary protection.

One more piece of evidence from another source. Among the demands put forward by the supporters of Aske's rebellion, at Doncaster, in 1536, the 19th article runs as follows:—

"The liberties of the Church to have their old customs, *in the county palatine of Durham*, Beverley, Ripon, St. Peter's at York, and such other, by Act of Parliament."

After the suppression of the rebellion, we find Sir Francis Bigod endeavouring to obtain the restoration of certain Durham sanctuary-men, who had joined Aske, to their old position; and his application was supported by the Earl of Westmoreland, the Bishop of Durham, and the prior and convent. Why should he have taken this trouble, if these men could only have returned to Durham for an unexpended balance of thirty-seven days?

I claim, then, to have established two propositions:

(1) That crime committed within the precincts of a sanctuary could not obtain protection at that sanctuary; and (2) that crime committed within the County of Durham could not obtain protection at Durham. Surely, the inference to be drawn is that the real precinct of Durham sanctuary was the County Palatine itself; and this conclusion is supported by the direct and indirect evidence of the Cathedral registers. At any rate, such a conclusion accords better than any other with the mediæval reputation of St. Cuthbert and the princely position of the old-time Bishops of Durham; as well as with the view that while sanctuary rights had a religious origin, they were in their later phases based upon temporal jurisdiction. In the Bishopric of Durham, the temporal jurisdiction was more extensive than in any other liberty of the same class; and therefore it is only natural that the sanctuary privileges should have been correspondingly extensive.





BATH OLD BRIDGE AND THE CHAPEL THEREON.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

(Read December 14th, 1904.)



ALTHOUGH in early times towns and cities had their bridges which they kept in repair, it was not so with outlying places where a river was itself a fair defence; but a bridge, especially if unguarded, might be seized by some powerful lord, to the detriment of all travellers.

Fords, too, were equally liable to this trouble. Thus the question of the origin of early bridges is of interest, as possibly leading to a knowledge of some curious point or episode in local or personal history. Any very early notice, however, can only be met with by chance. On making a reference to local histories it will be found that the writers say little or nothing of the bridges; necessarily so, because nothing was known about them. Yet, notwithstanding, bridges and bridge-building were matters of public importance and of general taxation, from which no one could be excused. Ducange mentions a guild of bridge-builders known as *Fratres Pontis*, the habit worn being white, with a cross on the breast.

The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that after his attack on London, A.D. 1013, King Sweyne went "westward to Bath, and sat there with his force." To him came the western Thanes, and submitted and gave him hostages. Whether any Thane crossed the Avon by a bridge or by a ford the *Chronicle* is not minute enough to tell us.

Florence of Worcester and others mention the coming of a party from Bristol in rebellion against William Rufus, when Bath was burned and pillaged—William of Malmes-

bury says, depopulated. There is no intimation that it was approached by a bridge, or that it was a walled city, or that it offered resistance as if it were : yet soon after this destruction it certainly was so.

In A.D. 1138 the *Gesta Stephani*, after telling that Bristol Castle, vast and fearful to beholders, held by a garrison of freebooters and robbers, was terrible to the district, adds :—"There is a city six miles (error for twelve) from Bristol where hot springs circulating beneath the surface are conducted in channels artificially constructed, and are collected into an arched reservoir to supply the warm baths which stand in the middle of the place ; most delightful to see, and beneficial to health. The city is called Batta, the name being derived from a word in the English tongue which signifies Bath, because infirm people resort to it from all parts of England for the purpose of washing themselves in these salubrious waters, and persons in health also assemble there to see the curious bubbling-up of the warm springs, and to use the baths."

By a little imagination we can here see Bath back to the Conquest ; and if a gallery of minstrels be added, we have before us an exact picture of the place at a much later date.

A party then coming from the dreaded Bristol, carrying ladders and other necessities for scaling the walls, were espied from within when a sally was made, and one of the foremost scouts, being taken prisoner, was cast into the dungeon. Here clearly walls are implied, but there is no mention of the use of a bridge. This may be because the attack came from Bristol, and consequently the approach was not from the south or by the river.

Again, Richard of Devizes, who was a friar of Witham, A.D. 1192, records certain instructions given by a French Jew to a boy he was sending to England, when advising him as to the desirability or advantages of certain cities for residence. Bath, he tells him, is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphurous vapour, as it were at the gates of hell. There is, however, no mention of the river.

In 1209 and in 1212,¹ and in 1213,² King John was at Bath, and again in 1216³ when he came from Wells and must have crossed the river; but there is no mention of bridge or ford. Licences for pontage, *i.e.*, a duty paid on all articles carried across a bridge, can be occasionally found for other cities—neighbouring Bristol, for instance—but there is not one for Bath, this arising from the fact that the early bridge was some distance from the south gate, was not united to, did not form actually a part of the city.

The first and only mention of a bridge is in 1273,⁴ when Robert Cherin is recorded in the Hundred Rolls as holding a tenement within the city and a meadow without, for which he kept the gate of the bridge in time of war.

Although no earlier mention than 1273 can be given, there must with fair certainty have been a bridge before that. Such bridge, however, would have been more or less of wood. Ingulph in his *Chronicle*, under date A.D. 1085, makes an especial mention of the Fosse as one of four royal roads. Remembering the known great Roman city Bath was, and that the royal Fosse road passed not only through it but actually over the river, near about where the bridge is, the conclusion seems unavoidable that a Roman bridge must have been there. Such a bridge, again, would be of timber, laid level on stone piers.

The early local historians, knowing nothing of the early bridge, were in difficulties. Just a short notice here of what they have said will help us towards correctness hereafter.

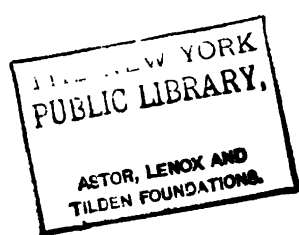
First, then, quoting the history of Bath printed in 1791, which goes under the name of Collinson, although for the great part of it we must be indebted to Edmund Rack, on p. 35 it is said of the suburbs of the city: "Without the south gate a street called Horse Street leads to St. Lawrence gate and bridge over the Avon." There is no mention of a chapel; but relegated to a footnote there is added, alluding to the name of the bridge: "So denominated from a small chapel built upon one of

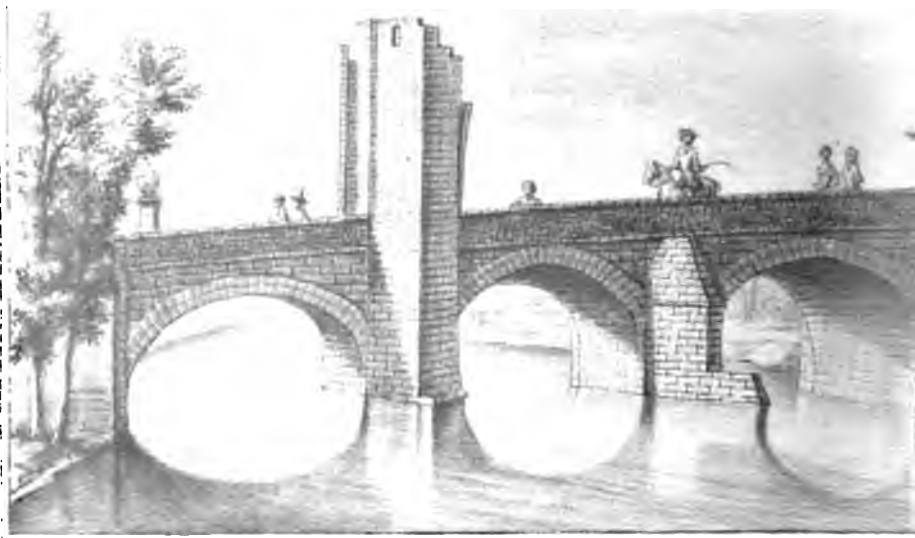
¹ *Itinerary*.

³ Close Rolls, 18 John.

² *Rotulus Miscæ*, 14 John.

⁴ Hundred Rolls, Edwd. I.

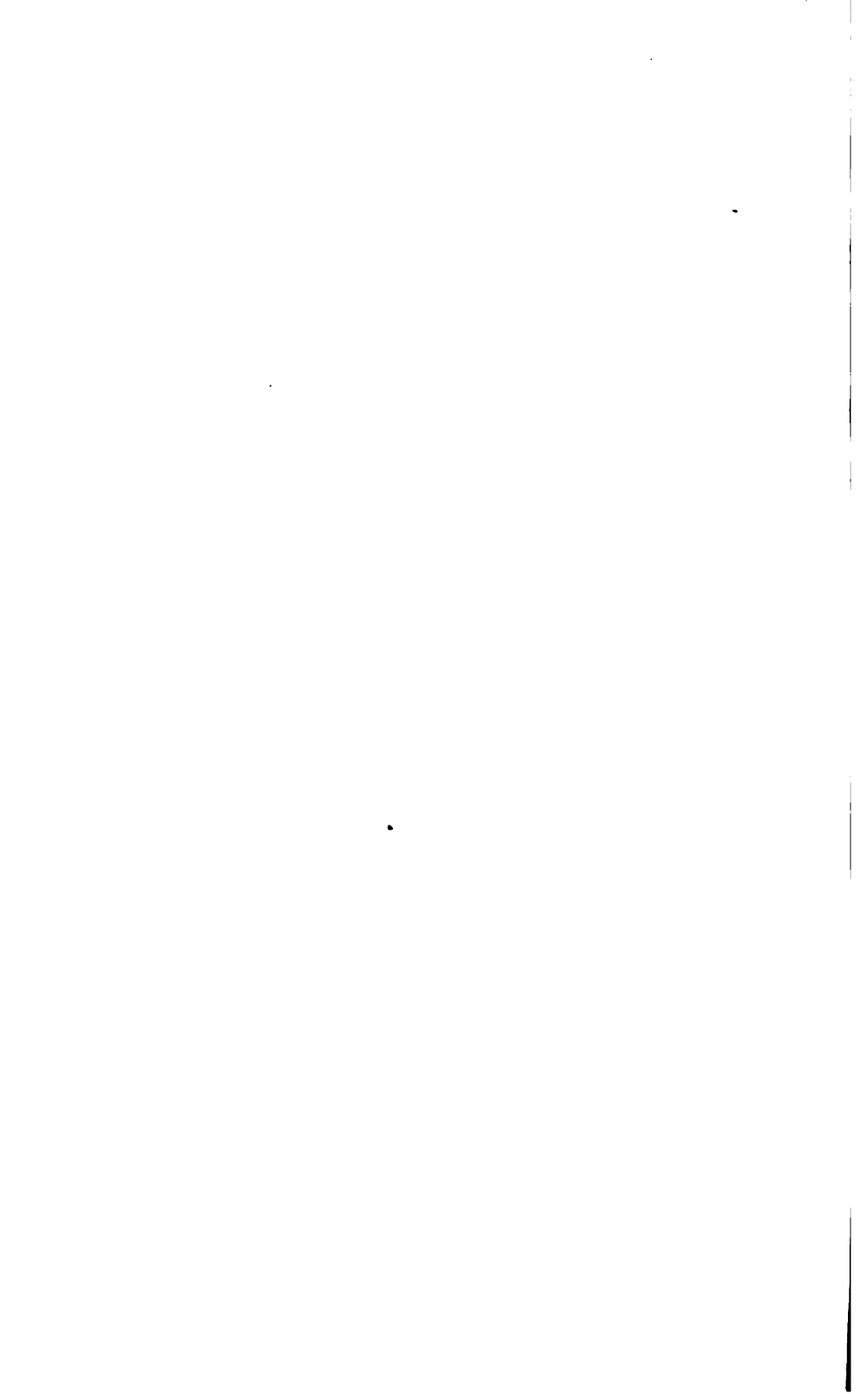




An East View of Br



17th Bridge



the piers, and dedicated to St. Lawrence. The chapel was a kind of oratory, having a small recess for an altar, at which a priest celebrated mass and received the donations of passers-by." When writing of the adjoining parishes of Lyncombe and Widcombe on the south side of the river, there is added:—"The bridge was formerly narrow and incommodious, but in the year 1754 was almost entirely taken down and rebuilt." No references are given, as is so often the case in this work, and it may be seen the statements are not very strong, nor given from authority. The story is wrong then as to the saying of mass in the oratory, and a priest attending to receive donations. The recess noted—if it ever existed, for it must be remembered the bridge was gone when the paragraph was written—would be simply the resting-place of some painting, or for the image of a saint. There could be no altar in such a place, and mass could not be said save at a consecrated altar. Thus, in 1317, the rector of the church of Weston-in-Gordano, was excommunicated for so doing.¹ This little shelter, not large enough to be a chapel, was too deeply recessed to be called a niche, and would be better described as a "housing," a word found in early writings; or, better still, for our own information, to dissociate the idea of a chapel, a place for a passing prayer. Rack might have taken his notion from an earlier author, as Aubrey of Wiltshire, writing of Bradford Bridge, says: "here is a little chapel "as at Bath" for masse." A double meaning may be got here: first that the chapel was the same as at Bath, and that, as mass was said at Bath, therefore it was said at Bradford. The intention, however, was simply one of comparison; there was no further special knowledge of fact. Bradford bridge is larger than was the one at Bath; and although the present superstructure on Bradford bridge representing the chapel may not be quite on the same lines for size as the original, the original was but a "housing" somewhat larger than that at Bath. Examples of this class of bridge oratory were rare, and as that at Bradford is now perhaps unique, it should in case of any changes be carefully preserved.

¹ *Bishop Drokenesford's Register*, by Hobhouse, p. 128.

Next in order comes the Rev. Richard Warner, whose history of Bath was published in 1801, ten years after Collinson and Rack. Writing of the Avon, he says: "At the southern end of the city this river is crossed by St. Lawrence bridge. This was built in 1754. It occupies the site of a very ancient but incommodious bridge, which was formerly covered with houses, and adorned with a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence." Warner here, in his desire to add to former accounts, falls into further error, the result perhaps of a careless reading. The *Bath Journal* of early in 1755 records that the bridge was being widened for the better passing of carriages, and that this work would redound to the credit of the city; but what exactly was done is not stated, nor does there seem to be any record. But by this "widening" and "rebuilding," the old bridge, with its chapel and gate, was destroyed. The widened bridge which "occupied its site" had no name, no dedication. This is all that can be said of the "built in 1754" of Warner, and the "rebuilt" of Collinson and Rack. The "rebuilt" of the latter, however, is rather qualified by "almost entirely taken down," which perhaps may mean that the new and widened bridge built on the old site incorporated in its foundations under water some portion of the old structure. Then, further, there were no houses on the bridge. Warner's authority for his assertion—a piece of information not given by Rack—must presumably be John Wood. Wood, a local architect, to whom—with his son—the finest buildings in Bath as seen to-day are due, says in his own history of Bath, printed 1740—five years before the bridge was destroyed—"St. Lawrence bridge consists of five arches. The top of the bridge is 11 ft. 6 ins. broad over the arches, but much wider over the abutments, and the buildings fronting it are the small chapel of St. Lawrence, elevated over one of the piers, and four dwelling-houses, erected on the banks of the river by the side of the butments of the bridge." We have here all that either Rack or Warner knew of the subject, although they do not acknowledge it; and it can be noted how Warner's attempt to elaborate caused him to err. Wood wrote from personal and professional

knowledge, and in using the word "butment" he does not mean buttress or pier, as Warner perhaps chose inadvertently to read it, but the land wall on either shore on which the last arch of the bridge on either side rested. The greater width, then, over the butments means that the shore ends widened out, and the houses mentioned were—as indeed, Wood plainly states—"on the banks of the river by the side of the butments." The chapel, he as plainly states, was on one of the "piers." Thus, there is no intention to convey the idea that there were any houses on the bridge. Indeed, with a width of 11 ft. 6 ins. only, there could be none. The unique and exquisite views taken in 1718, now in the British Museum, and here reproduced, preserve for us a clear idea of the structure: chapel, piers, gate, and butments, complete. Warner says again—but Rack does not,—that in 14 Edward III, which would be A.D. 1340, "the bridge across the Avon was erected to avoid wading a ford a little above it, hitherto the common practice;" adding further that this especial inconvenience had been more marked since the grant to the priory of Lyncombe fair in A.D. 1304.

No authorities or references are given for these statements, and besides the absurdity of wading through such a stream to get to a fair, we now know that the bridge was there in 1273. Further, he adds, the prior obtained permission to build a chapel on the bridge, dedicated to St. Lawrence, to catch oblations from passers-by. Here again his imagination has aided his elaboration. At the larger places, or chapels proper, oblations were made; but there is no reason to suppose that such was the case in so small a place or in such a situation as this oratory. No permission would be necessary before building such a "housing," as there would be no episcopal consecration. Had any such thing occurred at the date given by Warner, it would have been—but it is not—recorded in Bishop Drokeusford's register. So small and public a place could hardly have been enclosed, although a door to ensure some privacy may have existed. A door is shown in the drawing; but it must be remembered that by the then date, the place, like that at Bradford, had long

passed from its original use. The city pay-rolls show a payment for pointing the chapel on the bridge, 19*d.* ; and in 1589 for mending the chapel door on the bridge, 6*d.* In 1614, again, there was paid for a new door for the chapel on the bridge, and a lock and key for the same, 6*s.* By a lucky chance, after much searching, just one record was found : a reference to what must have been something very or exactly similar. In the return of the church goods of Derbyshire, there was at Stanton-next-Swerston, "a chappell edified and buylded uppon Trent in ye mydest of the greate streme anexed to Swerston bregge, the whiche had certayne stuffe belonging to it ; ii desks to knele in, a tabell of wode, and certayne barres of yron and glasse in the wyndos." The word "table" here would be applied to a triptych or a painting, or to something written in table form, and not to a table in the usual domestic sense of the word. It can easily be imagined that such a furniture would suit exactly in the present case.

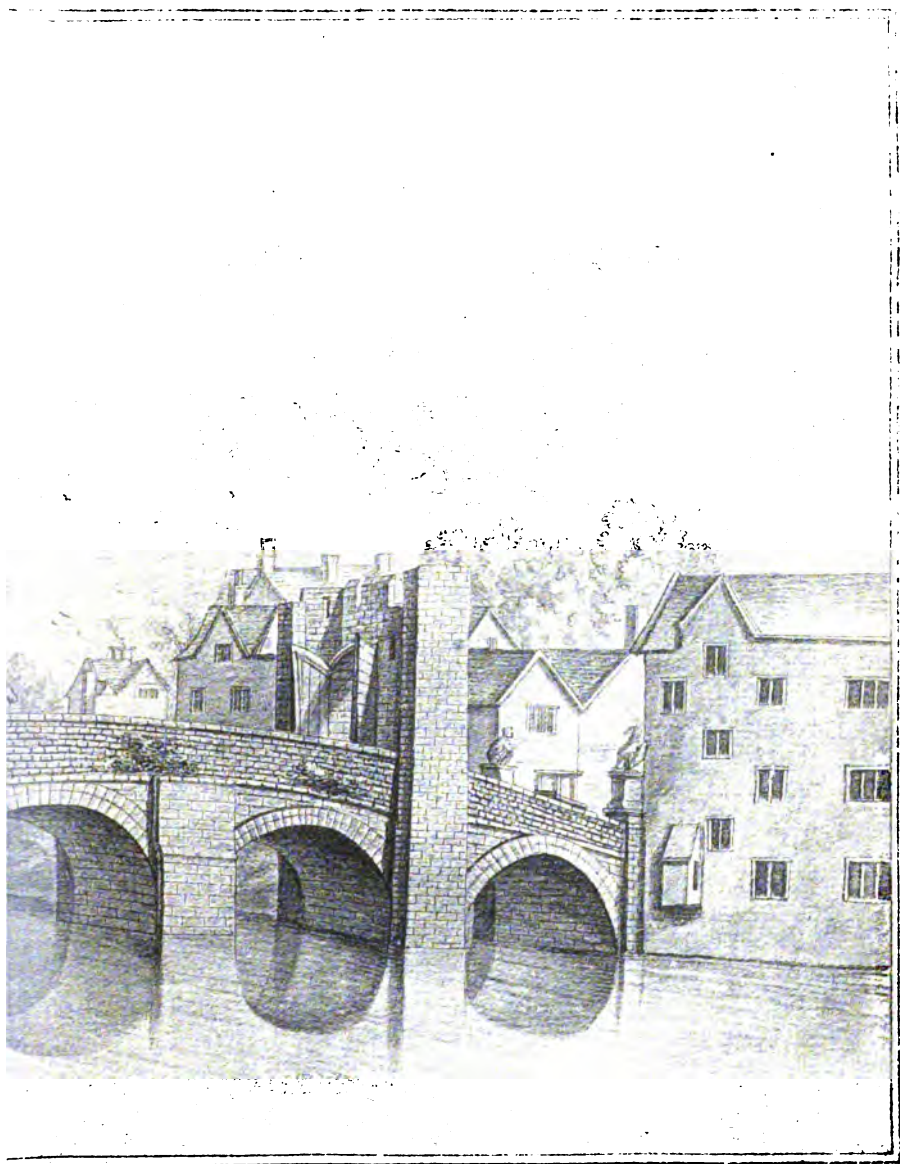
One reason perhaps why so little is known of this bridge is that whilst the citizens of Bath had the duty of keeping it in repair, it was not quite within the city bounds. The suburb of Southgate-street was included for taxing purposes, but it was not until the extension of the bounds by the charter of Elizabeth, in 1590, that the bridge was absorbed. The charter starts the boundary from the "south end" of the bridge, where the "two images of a lion and a bear engraven in stone are erected ;" and then passing through the river westward, it presently turns eastward to Walcot church, and then southward, and back through the river again to the "south end" of the bridge. In the drawings the lion and bear mentioned are seen on two columns, officially there as being the supporters of the Bath arms. Having no documentary evidence to determine absolutely the date or time of building of this bridge, a general survey or examination must be made to help as much as possible. Taking first the east view—that is here the view of the east side, or looking west—it will be seen that two of the piers are round, perhaps because the rush of the river was not fierce thereabouts, and on one, or as part of one of these,





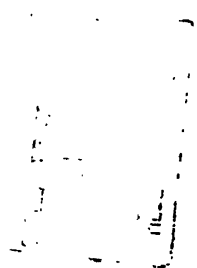
The West Prospe

B. LENS. DEL. 1716



of Bath Bridge

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



stands the oratory. The other two piers are angular, forming cutwaters in the usual way; the outer, or southern, being carried up, forms the side of the gateway, whilst the other, towards the middle of the river, has its base levelled as a standing or refuge for anyone unfortunate enough to require it. There seems, however, something wrong, as it is apparent that the oratory here is in the centre of the rise or arc of a bridge of four arches, the land on the north forming one end, the gateway on the south the other. The southern, or fifth arch, too, is somewhat flatter than the others. Hereby the difficulty is removed, as it may be judged that in the place of this fifth arch in the olden time was the drawbridge.

Taking next the west view, or view of the western side; here the piers, having no water resistance, are now all flat. Both the lion and the bear are seen distinctly *in situ*. In 1677, Henry Pitcher was granted his freedom of the city for setting up the bear and lion upon the bridge; and in 1717, John Pitcher freemason, in consideration of his having put up at his own charges "ye images of a lyon and a bear at ye foot of ye bridge," was also made a freeman. The front of the oratory shows some indented or sunken carvings of armorials, unfortunately not clear enough for definition; but beyond this no special architectural detail is visible. A thirteenth-century bridge would be flat or level on the roadway, the arches, narrow or close together, would be somewhat pointed, and turned on a distinctive, rather rough moulding. Perhaps the view of Bristol Old Bridge, as given in Seyer's *History of Bristol*, vol. ii, p. 14, the houses being removed, will help to give an idea of what the Bath earliest bridge was like. In the drawings we have fine and well-turned arches, and a rise to the centre, all and each distinctive of a late date. After this examination and generally, the judgment is that this bridge as seen in the drawings, excepting the gate, is a quite late fifteenth-century structure. In the changes then made, the gate and drawbridge of the earlier bridge were allowed to remain. This gate is Norman in character, and besides bearing every appearance of antiquity, is not a gate that would have been built very

late in the fifteenth century. The *Magna Britannia*, printed in 1727—the first local history—says: “A street leads to South Gate, and then along the suburbs to the bridge laid over the Avon, in the middle of which is an old gateway.” This, however, is not quite exact, as the drawings show the gate, not in the middle but on the next arch southward of it. The writer, however, recognises a difference when he writes of “an old gateway,” thus implying that it was visibly older than the bridge. When the drawbridge was abolished, its place was taken by another arch. In 1628 there was a payment “for rearing of an arch at the bridge gate and for six sacks of lime, £1 4s.”

The drawbridge gone, the bridge, being then unguarded, became rather a source of weakness than strength in time of trouble. Thus it happened in the Civil War, when, in July, 1645, Fairfax sent two companies of dragoons to Bath, no opposition was offered here, nor until the city gate was reached. In the time of Monmouth's rebellion the bridge was ordered to be destroyed, but the quick march of events prevented this, as it became unnecessary.

One more point must be mentioned. As already noticed, the actual only authority for much that Warner has said must be John Wood; but Wood, when writing on any but his own subject—architecture—must not be too easily credited. Wood, then, is the first who says, without giving reference or authority, that this bridge and chapel were dedicated to St. Lawrence. Save that the Barton fair was held on St. Lawrence Day, the saint seems hardly localised. St. Katherine should have the dedication, especially when all surroundings are considered, she being everywhere present within and without the city. Her image, to which oblations and gifts were made, stood in Stalls Church, now gone, but practically the parish church of Lyncombe and Widcombe, although divided by the river. In the old oath, too, taken by a freeman, he swore “Seynt Katern day to kepe holy day, and Seynt Katern chapell and the brygge help to mentayne and to susteyne;” thus showing a very close association, and prompting the assertion that the stated dedication to St. Lawrence must be wrong.



DYRHAM PARK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By REV. W. S. BLATHWAYT.

(*Read at the Bath Congress, 1904.*)

THIS place, near the old forest of Kingswood, which stretched from near Bristol towards Gloucester, takes its old name of Deorham from the wild animals abounding in those woods. It is famous from the battle, in 577, which decided the fate of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Ceawlin, coming from Marlborough way, defeated the kings of those places somewhere near the camp still to be seen on Hinton Hill in this parish, and drove in a wedge which separated the British south of the Avon from their kindred in Wales, etc. Freeman speaks of this battle as one of the decisive fights in our history.

In 1086, William FitzWido held Dyrham. Later it was held by the Newmarches, whose descendant carried it to Ralph Russell. It came down to Sir Maurice, who died in 1401, and whose brass is in the south aisle of the church. His elder daughter, Margaret, married Sir Gilbert Dennis, whose family held much land in Syston and Pucklechurch. In 1422 he bought the rest of the manor, which his sister-in-law, Isabel, had carried to her husband, Sir John Drayton. The manor passed by sale or mortgage to George Wynter, brother of Sir William, of Lydney, in 1571. His monument is in the south aisle of the church, with effigies of himself and his wife, Ann Brain. His son John sailed with Drake, and the property was left in trust "till he should have cleared himself of the charge of piracy." He left a son, Sir George, who married Mary Rogers, of Cannington, and brought Porlock, Somerset, into the family. Mary, the daughter of John Wynter, married, in 1686, William Blathwayt at one time

Clerk to Privy Council to Charles, James, and William III, and Secretary of State for War to William, and for a short time to Anne; he was also at one time Commissioner for "Trades and Plantations."

The house contains traces of Tudor work, and has been much added to. The east front was finished after designs by Talman, and is figured in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In the view by Kip in Atkyn's *History of Gloucestershire*, the extensive gardens, in the prevailing Dutch style, are shown laid out by William Blathwayt, of which many traces are visible.

In the house are many relics of those times in pictures, furniture, and Delft-ware. There are portraits of Charles I, Charles II, and James II, William and Mary (together with an early one of William), Anne, George of Denmark, and their boy; Louis XIV, Duc d'Orleans, Lauzun, Thomas Killigrew; besides many family pictures. Others are examples of Hoogestraeten, Hondelcoeter, Baptiste, de Heem, Mytens, Snyders and Murillo, of which last there is a copy by Gainsborough. A quantity of stamped Cordova leather and tapestry are hung on the walls of some rooms. Many of the high-backed chairs of William III, and Anne's time still retain their old velvet covers. In a cabinet is a "Martel de fer," found in the end of the eighteenth century, in a stone coffin at Langridge, the silver ornamentation of which Mr. Planché, many years ago, said was Saracenic.

From this place Lord Wilmot went to Abbotsleigh to arrange for the reception at Trent of Charles II after his flight from Worcester (Frances, wife of John Wynter, being a Gerard). In the library are found many old books, some of the sixteenth century and many of the seventeenth, together with a curious MS. Vulgate of Edward I, an illuminated Chronicle, and others of interest, such as copies of letters of Mazarin, Sir George Downing, etc., and charters copied into MS. books. A curious MS. account, written in French, of the march of William of Orange from Torbay to London, shows the route taken by the Court, and different branches of troops: illustrated by a coloured series of maps. Another book of interest is a collection of maps of the "Plantations," some MSS. on vellum, and others are printed.

British Archaeological Association.

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 CHARLES SMITH, Esq.
 SIR PETER SPOKES.
 J. OKEY TAYLOR, Esq.
 THEODORE H. WHITE, Esq.

Hon. Local Secretary—

THE REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.,
 Barkham Rectory, Wokingham.

Hon. Congress Secretary and Treasurer—

CHARLES J. WILLIAMS,
 45, Birkenhead Avenue, Kingston-on-Thames.



Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 17TH, 1905.

The Sixty-Second Annual Congress of the Association opened at Reading, and was attended by a large number of members and their friends, who will retain pleasant memories of the hospitality afforded them in the Royal County of Berks. At 2.30 p.m. the members of the Congress assembled in the Council Chamber, and were received by the Mayor, who was attended by the Town Clerk. The Mayor gave a hearty welcome to the Association, and expressed the great pleasure which the visit conferred on the town of Reading. Mr. R. E. Leader, President of the Congress in 1903 and 1904, on behalf of the Association, thanked the Mayor for the very hearty reception given them, and hoped that true archæological research—the great object of the Association—might be promoted by the Congress.

The members then visited the Reading Museum, where they were received by Alderman Blands, Chairman of the Museum and Library Committee. The Museum is especially rich in Roman antiquities, the result of the excavations carried on by the Society of Antiquaries during the last fifteen years at Silchester. In the absence through illness of Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., the Curator of the Silchester collection, Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., who has superintended the excavations for many years, described the progress of the work, and the remarkable specimens of pottery, ironwork, glass, tiles, tools, coins, etc., a collection of exceptional interest as containing a great mass of objects gathered from one site. The architectural section, containing examples of sculptured capitals, models of houses, building and roofing tiles, hypocausts, etc., was then examined; and much of interest was found in the General Museum, with its fine collection of prehistoric antiquities, principally amassed by the late Dr. Stevens, a member of the Association; numerous Saxon relics from two cemeteries discovered in the town, relics of Reading Abbey, and Egyptian antiquities. Mr. Shrubsole, Curator of the Geological and Prehistoric Section, gave a brief description.

The party then visited the ruins of Reading Abbey, passing on the

way the only remains of the fortifications reared during the Civil War. Dr. J. B. Hurry, the author of a notable work on the Abbey, told the story of the rise and fall of this once magnificent monastery, founded by Henry I in 1121, and dissolved by Henry VIII in 1539. It covered a site of thirty acres, and was bounded by a high wall on all sides except the south, which was guarded by the Kennet and Holy Brook. Of this wall only a small portion remains, and all the four entrance-gateways have disappeared, but the inner gateway exists in a restored condition, and is the headquarters of the Berks Archæological Society. Of the church, fragments of the north and south transepts remain, stripped of the finished mason-work. The bases of two pillars of the central tower, the walls of the Chapter-house and portions of the cloisters, refectory, dormitory, *domus necessaria*, and hospitium survive, but almost all the stonework has been removed, leaving only the core of compact flint rubble. In the Abbey Gate, the Berks Archæological Society entertained the members to tea; and a visit was then paid to the Church of St. Laurence, which was described by Mr. Charles E. Keyser, F.S.A., who drew attention to its historical associations, to the brasses, doorways, and panels, and to the paintings which once adorned its walls. The Church of Greyfriars was then examined, under the direction of the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A. The Franciscans established themselves in the town in A.D. 1233, on a site nearer the river, which proved to be unhealthy. Fifty-two years later, the present site was assigned to them. At the Dissolution, the church was granted to the town for a Guildhall, and then converted into a prison, the aisles being used as cells, and the roof of the nave removed. It was restored to its sacred uses in 1864.

In the evening, the members were entertained by the Mayor and Mayoress at a *Conversazione* in the Town Hall, to which a large number of residents in the town and neighbourhood were invited. During the evening, Mr. Charles Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., Chairman of the Local Committee and President of the Berks Archæological Society, delivered the Inaugural Address. The Mayor, as President of the Congress, heartily thanked Mr. Keyser, and Mr. Leader, who seconded the vote, also expressed the appreciation by the members of the brilliant welcome extended to them. Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Sutton for their kind hospitality, and this was seconded by Mr. Charles J. Williams (Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Congress), who asked leave to associate as a supporter of the motion the name of Mr. George Patrick, the Hon. Secretary of the Association, who for many years had done it such loyal service.

TUESDAY, JULY 18TH, 1905.

The party, which numbered about eighty, left Reading station at 8.53 A.M. for Mortimer, whence they drove to the Roman City of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*). Mr. Mill Stephenson conducted the party to the Amphitheatre, situate outside the city walls and approached through a postern gate. It consisted of mounds of earth, and had tiers of turf seats; but it was probably used for bear-baiting and cock-fighting, and not for gladiatorial combats. Local tradition still calls it the "Lion's Den." The walls of the city, constructed of flints bonded with stone and having ironstone foundations, were then examined. They are a mile and three-quarters in length, and in some places rise to a height of 16 ft. Mr. Stephenson described the progress of the excavations, explained the plan of the city, the Basilica and Forum, and told the story of the gradual decay of Silchester. He explained the necessity of covering up the excavations on account of the destructive action of frost and rain: it was a national disgrace to have allowed the only Roman Forum left in England to fall into a heap of stones. After an inspection of the houses in Insula V, which were in process of excavation, Mr. Leader thanked Mr. Stephenson, and said that he was doing a national work for which all should be grateful.

The party then drove to Pamber Church, the chapel of the Benedictine Priory of Sherborne, founded by Henry de Port in the twelfth century. The church—which was described by Mr. Keyser—originally consisted of a short nave without aisles, choirs, transepts, central tower and two chantry chapels. The Priory was attached to the monastery of St. Vigor, in Normandy, and was suppressed as an alien Priory in 1417; the nave, transepts, and chantries were destroyed; the tower was converted into a kind of porch, and the choir retained as the church of the parish. The church dates from the twelfth century; but alterations were made in the thirteenth. At the suppression, Henry VI granted the church to Eton College; afterwards it belonged to the *Domus Dei* at Southampton, and at the Dissolution it passed to Queen's College, Oxford. Its most interesting features are the piscina, the monumental slabs, and the recumbent wooden effigy of a cross-legged knight—supposed to represent John de Port, son of the founder, but pronounced by Mr. Keyser to be of later date.

The next place visited was Aldermaston Court, the residence of Mr. Keyser, who hospitably entertained the members to luncheon, a cordial vote of thanks to him and Mrs. Keyser being moved by Mr. Richard

Horsfall.—Mr. Keyser then sketched the history of the estate. The manor was one of the possessions of Earl Harold, and many of the trees were older than his time, one being known as the Conqueror's tree. Henry I gave the manor to Sir Robert Achard; William Achard gave the church to the Priory of Sherborne. The estate passed, in 1358, to the De le Mares, and then to the Forsters. Sir George Forster's monument in the church is one of the finest alabaster tombs in England. In 1711 the manor passed to the Congreves, then to Mr. Higford Burr, and finally to the present squire. The house, erected by Sir Humphrey Forster in 1636, was burnt down in 1843; but the chimneys, the carved oak staircase, and some ancient glass have been preserved. The church was then visited, and described by Mr. Keyser. The oldest portion is the west door (A.D. 1130 to 1150). The chancel was built about 1250; the nave, which is Decorated work, was finished in 1280 or 1300; the tower was added a hundred years later, and the west window is Perpendicular. There are two low-side and two high-side windows, the latter being used for the service in the rood-loft, some interesting thirteenth-century glass, and some mural paintings—a thirteenth-century St. Christopher, and one which Mr. Keyser supposes to depict the consecration of St. Nicholas.

Leaving Aldermaston, the party visited the little apsidal Norman church of Padworth, where some early mural paintings have been found: one of Norman date, the legend of St. Nicholas and the Three Children, can be clearly seen. The chancel arch, consecration crosses, and the doorways are the principal features of the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser.

Ufton Court, a fine example of an Elizabethan mansion, was next visited, and its history was described by Miss Sharp. It was built in the latter part of the sixteenth century by Lady Mervyn, who left it to her first husband's nephew, Francis Parkyns. The oldest part is the kitchen. The east front, where the hall and principal chambers are situated, is the work of Lady Mervyn. The house was much altered in Queen Anne's time by Francis Parkyns, who married Arabella Fermor, the heroine of "The Rape of the Lock." The family were recusants, and the house contains an oratory, chapel, and two hiding-places. Miss Sharp kindly entertained the party to tea.

At the Evening Meeting, Mr. Andrew Oliver gave an interesting account of the Brasses of Berkshire, illustrated by excellent rubbings. Mr. R. H. Forster being absent through illness, his Paper was postponed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19TH, 1905.

A party (limited to sixty, owing to transit difficulties) left Reading at 8.50 A.M. for Lambourn, and proceeded to the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser. The nave is very Late-Norman work, with a good clerestory. The rebuilding of the church was begun about A.D. 1170, starting at the west end and working eastwards, pure Transitional work being found in the tower arches. The chantry chapels, founded by the Estbury family, were inspected. In one of them is the tomb of John Estbury, rebuilder of St. Mary's Chapel, with a brass placed there by his son Thomas in 1400. On the arch of this chapel is an *alto-relievo* representation of a greyhound coursing a hare, and men blowing horns. The monuments of Sir Thomas Essex and Margaret his wife, erected in 1558, in the chapel of St. Catherine, are fine examples of alabaster work. The church has several good brasses, some old plate and chests, and an early font of Norman date. Afterwards, the site of Canute's palace, the fifteenth-century market cross, and the source of the Lambourn stream, were visited.

During the drive to White Horse Hill, a halt was made at Ashdown Park to inspect the numerous Sarsen stones which abound there; and the party proceeded along the old Ridgeway to Wayland Smith's Cave. Mr. Money explained that it was a denuded chambered long barrow, with an encircling ditch. It is alluded to in a charter of Eadred of 935, and is a good instance of the value of planting as a means of preserving ancient earthworks. The party then climbed to Uffington Castle, a Celtic stronghold with very perfect earthen ramparts, from which a fine view was obtained extending over ten counties. Mr. Theodore White pointed out the objects of interest in sight, including the famous "White Horse," 380 ft. long and 10 ft. to 15 ft. wide, cut out in the chalk hill. He upheld the tradition that it was cut out by Alfred's men to commemorate his victory over the Danes, this spot being, he maintained, the site of the battle. He also described the old festival of "the Scouring," as depicted by the late Judge Hughes.

At Sparsholt, the "Blowing Stone," a Celtic relic, erroneously called "King Alfred's Bugle-horn," was made to give forth its weird note, and a visit was paid to the church, which Mr. Keyser described. It was originally cruciform, but the north transept was pulled down in the eighteenth century. There are two Late-Norman doorways, the nave and lower portion of the tower belonging to the same period. The church contains a fine Easter sepulchre, the cross-legged effigy of Sir Robert Achard, a curious squint, a very Early Norman font, some

fourteenth-century glass, a fourteenth-century screen, several brasses and a chapel built by the last of the Achards, with beautiful monumental recesses, and the effigies of the knight and his two wives.

The party then drove to Wantage, and returned to Reading. In the evening, an interesting Paper was read by the Rev. J. E. Field on "The History of Wallingford," and Mr. I. Chalkley Gould lectured on "The Walls of Wallingford."

THURSDAY, JULY 20TH, 1905.

The members left Caversham Bridge at 9.30 a.m. in a launch, and journeyed to Wallingford, the river excursion proving very enjoyable. At Wallingford they were met by the Rev. J. E. Field and the Rev. A. W. N. Deacon, Rector of St. Mary's. After lunch they visited the market-place, with its ancient bull-ring, the Carolean Town Hall, and Church of St. Mary, where tradition says the first curfew was rung. At St. Leonard's Church Mr. Field pointed out some pre-Norman carving, and a doorway in the south wall, with a triangular arch supported by a wooden frame. Mr. Gould pointed out that the rampart which anciently protected the church had been levelled, but the brook which ran through the fosse still remained. Mr. Tudor kindly permitted an inspection of his residence outside the eastern vallum; and after viewing the earthworks which surround Kine Croft, the members were received at the Castle by Miss Hedges. The triple line of earthworks, indicating the outer and inner castle moats and the town moats, were examined, and also the museum, where the owners of the Castle have stored many objects of interest discovered in the town. On the return to the river Mr. Field pointed out the old bridge, which is said to date from the reign of John, and was improved by Richard, King of the Romans. During the siege of the town in the Civil Wars, two of the southern arches were removed, and a drawbridge erected. The party then returned to Reading by river.

In the evening a lecture on "The History of Abingdon" was read by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., who also exhibited a collection of old Berkshire prints and engravings.

FRIDAY, JULY 21ST, 1905.

Leaving Reading at 9.51 a.m., the members went by train to Culham, and drove to Sutton Courtenay, a former possession of the Abbey of Abingdon. Mr. Ditchfield explained that there were two manors here: one held by the King, and granted to Reginald

Courtenay by Henry II, and the Abbey Manor, granted after the Dissolution to Lord Wriothesly. The old manor-house has a Norman doorway, and, as Mr. Lynam pointed out, must have been the chapel attached to the manor. The fourteenth-century "Abbey," or manor-house, was described by Mr. Ditchfield. The party then visited the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser. The porch has a parvise, and over the entrance is a carving of a flaming beacon, one of the badges of Henry V, and also the arms of the Compton family. The tower ranges from Norman to Early English; the original chancel-arch was displaced in the fourteenth century and re-erected in the south arcade. The doorway, arcades, and clerestory are Decorated, and the church has some Perpendicular windows, a Jacobean pulpit, two altar-tombs, and a double piscina of the fourteenth century.

On arriving at Abingdon, the members were received by the Mayor in the Town Hall. Alderman Harris exhibited the municipal plate, and the Town Clerk described the charters. Luncheon was served in the Council Chamber, and the Mayor gave an interesting account of the portraits which hang there. A visit was then paid to the remains of the Abbey, which were described by Mr. H. Redfern, who thought that the so-called "Prior's house" was the residence of the official in charge of the exchequer, and that the adjoining building was the infirmary. The churches of St. Nicholas and St. Helen were described by Mr. J. G. T. West and Mr. Keyser; and the story of Christ's Hospital, with its treasures of ancient documents and curious portraits, was told by Alderman J. T. Morland, the Clerk of the Governors.

In the evening, Mr. W. M. Childs, Principal of University College, Reading, gave an interesting lecture on "The Place of Reading in the National History." Mr. C. J. Williams's Paper on "The Commercial Aspect of Reading in the Middle Ages" was postponed.

SATURDAY, JULY 22ND, 1905.

The members travelled to Newbury, where, after a reception by the Mayor in the Council Chamber, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., gave a short account of the history of the town. A visit was then paid to the Church of St. Nicholas, which was described by Mr. Money. This church is particularly interesting, as having been built entirely in the reign of Henry VIII by the famous Jack of Newbury. After a short visit to the Cloth Hall and Museum, the party drove to Shaw House, a fine Elizabethan residence built by Sir Thomas Dolman, 1581. The drive was then continued to Donnington Castle, where the members

were cordially welcomed by Mrs. Sperling. After an inspection of the Castle, which stands at a height of 403 ft. above sea level, and commands a magnificent view, Mr. Money, who is the author of several books on the subject, gave a graphic account of the origin of the Castle and its gallant defence by Sir John Boys. In order that the members might have the full benefit of listening to so great an authority, the time allotted was extended to fifty minutes. Mr. Money clearly explained the movements of the Royal and Parliamentary Forces in the second battle of Newbury, and mentioned that £500 or £600 were spent weekly on the works necessary for the defence of the Castle. The old farmhouse, now Mrs. Sperling's residence, was described as the Hougomont of the position in the last days of the siege. Some of the outworks were as perfect as if they had been thrown up yesterday.

The members were then most hospitably entertained to luncheon by Mrs. Sperling, to whom a hearty vote of thanks was passed on the motion of Mr. C J. Williams, seconded by Mr. W. E. Hughes; while the Rev. Dr. Russell proposed, and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Money. This concluded the business of a highly successful Congress. The arrangements made by the Hon. Congress Secretary worked excellently throughout; and it was generally agreed that the members of the Congress had spent an instructive and pleasurable week.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12TH, 1905.

MR. C. H. COMPTON, V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology," 21, and Parts 1 and 2, vol. xxii.
,, Do., for "Proceedings of the Devonport Academy of Sciences," vol. ix, 1901-3.
,, Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. xii, Part 2, 3rd Series.
,, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," 1903-4.
,, Museo Nacional, Mexico, for "Proceedings," Tomo 2, Num. i, Enero 1905.

Mr. Emmanuel Green exhibited a fine example of a moneyer's weight in bronze (Portuguese), of about A.D. 1600, and equivalent to the weight of £3 12s. of our coinage. Dr. W. de Gray Birch exhibited an Egyptian vase of terra-cotta, supposed to be of about 5000 B.C.; also a very elegant vase from Cyprus, of about 1500 B.C., both of the character known as libatory vessels.

Mr. C. Dack, of Peterborough, read a Paper on "Folk and Weatherlore of Peterborough and District," in continuation of a previous contribution.

An interesting discussion followed, in which the chairman, Mr. E. Green, Mr. Milward, Mr. Rayson, and others, took part.

The Paper will be published.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3RD, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THE MAYOR OF READING—M. J. SUTTON, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE RIGHT REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., LATE BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.; COL. SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.; R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

THE VERY REV. DEAN OF DURHAM.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

PROF. FERGUSSON, LL.D.

I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.

REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Honorary Treasurer.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt. D., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Council.

REV. H. CART, M.A.

W. DERHAM, Esq., M.A., LL.M.

THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

EMMANUEL GREEN, Esq., F.S.A.

RICHARD HOESFALL, Esq.

T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

BASIL LAWRENCE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

A. OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. BAGSTER, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. Astley, *Hon. Editorial Secretary*, read the following:—

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1904.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1904.

"(1) The membership of the Association has continued practically stationary during the year 1904. This is due to the fact that the Congress at Bath, in marked contrast with the very successful one held at Sheffield in the previous year, brought in no accession of new members; and also to the fact that no startling discoveries on the part of any member have led to such an influx as Mr. Nichols was able to gather in during 1903. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming Congress at Reading will be more after the Sheffield lines, both in this respect and financially; but, above all, it is to the enthusiasm of individual members that the Association must look now, as in the past, for the maintenance and increase of its members. If each Associate would only bring in one other during 1905, our numbers would be immediately doubled.

"(2) Obituary notices of Associates are inserted as opportunity offers.

"(3) Twenty-three of the Papers read at the Sheffield Congress, and during the winter in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1904, which is illustrated with thirty-three plates and process-blocks, many of which were contributed by the writers of the Papers, to whom the Council hereby accords hearty thanks. A considerable stock of Papers is in the hands of the Editor, of which those approved by the Council will be published as the space at his disposal permits.

"(4) Local members of Council, and the Associates individually, are once more earnestly invited to forward accounts, and, if possible, photographs or illustrations, of new antiquarian discoveries and interesting events at the earliest opportunity: by which means alone can the *Journal* be kept up-to-date, and the interest of the meetings be sustained.

"(5) Lastly, the Hon. Secretaries would urge upon all Associates, and more particularly those residing in or near London, the duty of themselves attending the evening meetings of the Association during the Winter Session and the Annual Congress in the Summer; and by introducing friends to these, of widening the field of its operations, and thus the more readily securing new adherents.

"H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, } *Hon Secs.*
 "GEO. PATRICK, }

May 3rd, 1905.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Treasurer, read the following:—

Treasurer's Report.

"The Hon. Treasurer begs to lay before this meeting the usual Balance Sheet, showing the financial condition of the Association on

British Archaeological Association.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1904.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Subscriptions	193 4 0	By Printing and Illustrating <i>Journal</i>	143 13 9
" Entrance Fees	2 2 0	" Delivery of <i>Journals</i> , Postages, etc.	12 16 3
" Sale of Books	19 11 7	" Advertising in the <i>Athenæum</i>	3 19 4
" Interest on Savings Bank Deposit, etc.	3 18 1	" Allowance to Treasurer	30 0 0
" Balance—Deficit for Year	28 3 6	" Editorial Expenses	21 1 0
		" Secretary's Expenses	8 7 6
		" Rent for Year	13 13 0
		" Loss on Bath Congress	3 13 10
		" Purchase of Archaeological Index and other Publications	5 3 9
		" Tea, etc., at Evening Meetings	2 6 7
		" Sundry Expenses	2 4 2
	£246 19 2		£246 19 2

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1904.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Creditors—Printing December <i>Journal</i>	44 16 6	By Stock of <i>Journals</i> , etc., at Mr. Nutt's, estimated at	100 0 0
" Balance—Surplus	399 4 7	" Valuation of Library at University College	250 0 0
		" Investment in Consols	12 1 0
		" Deposit in Savings Bank	53 17 8
		" Cash at Bank	28 2 5
	£444 1 1		£444 1 1

We have examined the Books and Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be correct. In accordance with the directions of the Council, the above Statement is cast in the form of an Income and Expenditure Account, showing the actual working of the Association during the Year 1904; and a Balance-Sheet, showing the financial position at the end of the year.

(Signed)

R. H. FORSTER }
CECIL T. DAVIS } *Auditors.*

31st December, 1904, from which it is made evident that the last year closed with a deficit of £28 3s. 6d. expenditure over annual income. This arises from the failure of the Bath Congress to produce any financial benefit to the Society. The lesson to be learned from this seems to be that the proceeds of the Congress should not be trusted to for helping to liquidate the annual expenses of the Association; and the Hon. Treasurer would earnestly suggest to the Society that for the future no reliance should be placed on Congress profits, which, when they arise, should be saved or capitalised, and added to the investments accounts. By these means, while the assured income would be spent in current expenses, a fund would be gradually accumulated which could not but be of material advantage. The Treasurer also deplores the large number of defaulting subscribers, of whom fifteen for 1903 and twenty-five for 1904 still remain defaulters, in spite of repeated applications. He hopes that the rule about to be made will effectually deal with this source of trouble."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Brussels Archæological Society, for "Report," 1905, Parts 1 and 2.
- „ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. xii, Nos. 11 to 15, 1905.
- „ Royal Dublin Society, for vol. viii, Parts 6 to 16, and Index, vol. ix, Part 1; vol. x, Part 2; vol. i, Part 5.
- „ Smithsonian Institution, for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xi, Part 3, 1905.
- „ Author, for "Index to Excavations in Cranborne Chase and King John's House, Pollard Royal," Part 5, by Harold St. George Gray.

Mr. Selley exhibited, through the Rev. Dr. Astley, some fine specimens of Palæolithic flint implements, consisting of arrowheads (some barbed, others leaf-shaped), scrapers, some fragments of rough black pottery, and a worked piece of lead, probably Roman, all of which he had recently found at Failand and Shirehampton. Failand is six miles from Bristol and two miles from Cadbury camp.

Mr. Emmanuel Green exhibited a coach glass, so called: a rare and curious example of a wine-glass formerly used by travellers, or when

on the grand tour with the usual English travelling coach or chariot. It has no foot or base, so that it cannot stand upright, but the stem terminates in a ball, in this case beautifully cut. The use would seem to have been to pack in a provision basket, and for such purpose it is well suited, being unusually strong and heavy. Some instances of preparations for a start were given, in which every conceivable necessary seemed to have been carried; especially was a basket filled with provisions and some of the best wine, sufficient for three days. The date of origin of these glasses would probably be the time of the Regency, as after an official announcement of July 12th, 1815, that intercourse with the Continent was re-established, travelling began briskly, from trips to the field of Waterloo to the longer tour to Italy.

A Paper on "The Church and Parish of Chesham, Bucks, otherwise Chesham Leicester and Woburn," was read by the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, who said the Chess valley, surrounded by thickly-wooded hills and plantations, was full of interest. Chesham largely partakes of the diversified character of the Chiltern district, and in very early times was the home of a branch of the great Celtic family. Just enough is known of Roman occupation to establish it. Referring to the place-names, Mr. Evelyn-White was disinclined to accept a suggested derivation from the non-navigable stream the Chess, preferring to take its etymon from *cestor*, as indicating a Romano-British stronghold, and gave instances of like use. Chesham, at the Domesday period, its several manors and lords, its tenures, the chief families, and the hamlets (particularly Isel-hampstead or Latimers), were severally dealt with. The early village life, as reflected in the open-field system, and seen in the hillside "balks" or "terrains," was traced. The church of St. Mary, restored under Sir Gilbert Scott (a fine cruciform building, mainly of thirteenth- and fifteenth-century date), was fully described, and the numerous interesting features (including a stoup in the porch having a crucifix above, low-side windows, wall paintings, etc.) commented upon. The tombs and mural monuments are particularly noteworthy, while the remains of Norman work are important. The abbeyes of Leicester and Woburn held the mediocrities of the church, the vicars officiating probably at their respective altars, and at a later time by turns. There may, in early days, have been two churches; but this is purely a matter of conjecture. Mr. Evelyn-White also remarked on the mediæval church life of Chesham, the days of religious persecution and civil war, witchcraft, epidemics, holy wells, mills, old inns, trades, names, odd characters, and fanatics; but lack of time obliged him to omit reference to the parish registers and the Bowles MSS. The paper was illustrated by many lantern-slides taken by Miss Keating, of Chesham.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21st, 1905.

O. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, communicated a discovery of much interest recently made by Don Enrique Salas, in excavating upon land belonging to him in the Province of Murcia, in Spain.¹ The discovery consists of thirty-one objects in red and black clay of the Celtiberian period. A careful drawing of one of the subjects on a cinerary urn, in red colour, was submitted as a specimen. This represented two warriors: one on foot, with shield and dart; the other on horseback, with a dart; while a third is lying on the ground, seemingly pierced with a dart.

Dr. Birch remarked at some length upon the exhibit, and Dr. H. J. D. Astley considered the illustration showed evidence of Mycænean civilization. These interesting objects have been deposited temporarily by the owner in the National Archæological Museum of Madrid.

A paper was read by Dr. Astley on the "Ninth Iter of Antoninus, with Special Reference to the Sites of Sitomagus and Venta Icenorum." This was a carefully-reasoned argument in favour of the views of the older antiquaries, as Camden and Sir Thomas Browne, that Caistor and Thetford are the true sites of Venta Icenorum and Sitomagus, in opposition to modern theories which assign to Norwich and Dunwich that identification. Although the latter theory is ably supported by the learned antiquary Dr. Raven, Dr. Astley contended that it was improbable and untenable with reference to the *Itinerary* of Antoninus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a copy made in the thirteenth century of the only Roman map of the Imperial epoch that has come down to us. It derives its name from Conrad Peutinger, of Augsburg, who possessed it in the sixteenth century; and it is now preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna. On the original map of the Roman Empire the British section is, unfortunately, imperfect, the section to the west and north of *Ad Tatum* being missing, and Venta Icenorum does not appear. For Venta Icenorum, the chief centre and emporium of trade, the *market* of the Iceni, in Roman times, we must look in a locality where everything will prove its importance during the period of the Roman occupation; and nowhere is there a more fitting situation than that of Caistor, with its mighty camp and remains of Roman residences in the

¹ This exhibit will be more fully described, with an illustration of the objects, in our "Antiquarian Intelligence," or as a Paper later on.

neighbourhood. In like manner, Thetford also provides just the site that the Romans would fix upon for a station; and when the data of the *Itinerary* and the *Tabula* are taken together, the conclusion appears to be irresistible that Thetford is the true site of *Sitomagus*.

Mr. Emmanuel Green, Mr. Gould, Dr. Birch, the Chairman, and others joined in the discussion.

Mr. Gould drew attention to the newspaper reports of Mr. Edward Wooller's discovery of an early camp or defensive enclosure in the county of Durham; and said that he was especially glad to do so, as the discovery was the result of a suggestion he had made to Mr. Wooller that a work would be found on the spot. Mr. Gould had noticed an embankment shown on Maclauchlan's Survey of the Watling Street, published in the middle of the last century, and judged that it probably extended across a promontory otherwise naturally defended by streams. This surmise was found to be correct, and there is little doubt that an early fortress, or stronghold of the promontory type, existed. Mr. Wooller's investigations show that, probably at some late period, the southern portion of the great area was further defended by banks, thus forming a complete enclosure. The site is at the extreme west of the parish of Brancepeth.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE "ANGEL STONE" IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, HON. LL.D.

The "Angel Stone" in Manchester Cathedral has given rise to much speculation as to its precise meaning. The engraving, which is reproduced by the kind permission of the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian*, gives an accurate idea of its appearance. The drawing was made by Mr. F. W. Goolden from a large and careful photograph taken by Mr. William Ellis, of Longsight.

The stone is $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., and represents an angel standing with extended wings, holding a scroll on which is an incised inscription. The scroll being too small for the words, the lettering is continued in two lines cut into the plain surface. It was in 1871, when the south porch of the Cathedral was taken down, that this curious slab was discovered. The entry about Manchester in the *Domesday Book* states that the Church of St. Mary and the Church of St. Michael held in "Mamcestre one carucate of land free from all customs but the gelt." Whether this meant two churches in the town or in the larger area of the barony of Manchester, is a matter on which opinions have varied. Some think that St. Michael refers to Ashton-under-Lyne, others that there was a Church of St. Michael near the Church of St. Mary, and perhaps even in the same churchyard. The ancient sculptured stone, it was thought, would probably have some reference either to the Virgin or to the Archangel. Whilst the description remained undeciphered, it seemed not unlikely that the subject was the Annunciation. The inscription gave rise to some wild conjectures. Oghams and runes were suggested. The Rev. Isaac Taylor held that the figure represented St. Michael, and that the letters were either Anglo-Saxon or Irish uncials of the ninth or tenth century. Mr. Robert Langton made a careful drawing of the stone, which appeared in *Local Gleanings* for January, 1880. Mr. James Croston made another drawing of it, which is engraved in the last edition of Baines's *History of Lancashire*. An enlarged view of the inscription was also given, and printed upside down! After an unsuccessful attempt by

Professor Sayce, the inscription was read by Canon E. L. Hicks, whose skill in the cognate field of Greek epigraphy is well known. The words are :—

IN MANVS T
VAS DME CO
MMEDO SP.

X.

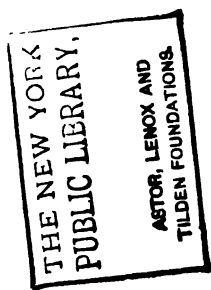
“In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum” (meum). This reading was communicated to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, in 1896, by the Rev. H. A. Hudson, who suggested that the sculpture might have been used as a sepulchral or memorial stone, inserted probably into an inside wall over a grave or an altar or altar-tomb. The stone is apparently from the local Collyhurst quarry. Recently, Mr. J. J. Phelps has subjected the stone to a patient and prolonged examination; and in a paper read before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in January, 1905, has shown that the letters are of a form that can hardly be later than the ninth century. The curious M, which occurs twice, is composed, it will be observed, of three perpendicular strokes united by a diagonal bar. This is a characteristic form that ceases with the ninth century. It occurs with slight variations on various incised stones in Wales, and in the “Lindisfarne Gospels” and other MSS. Mr. Phelps is strongly of opinion that the figure is intended for St. Michael, and that the part of the stone broken off at the lower edge contained a representation of the dragon. In proof, he points to a kind of triangular flat knob near the lower edge of the stone to the right, and claims that this is the end of the dragon’s tail. The arrangement of the inscription also, as he points out, shows that on the stone there must originally have been something represented under the feet of the angel, otherwise the word *tuas* would not have needed to be divided as it is.

Dr. Walter de Gray Birch, to whom a photograph and a squeeze of the stone have been submitted, says that the stone is eighth- or ninth-century work, and part of a representation of the Crucifixion. His wide experience and high reputation give great weight to this theory. The inscription, whilst it suggests the words both of David and of Christ, does not literally correspond with either, or with Stephen’s dying invocation as given in the Vulgate. This can be best shown by a comparison of the three forms :—

Angel Stone.—In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum (meum).

Psalm xxxi, 5.—In manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis.





Luke xxiii, 46.—Pater, in manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum.

Acts vii, 59.—Domine Jesu, suscipe spiritum meum.

The phrase, as it appears on the stone, is part of the Roman liturgy, and forms part of the service of compline. The following is the passage :—

“THE LITTLE CHAPTER (Jer. xiv).

“Tu autem in nobis est, Domine, et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos : ne derelinquas nos, Domine Deus noster.

“*R.* Deo gratias.

“*V.* In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum.

“*R.* In manus, etc.

“*V.* Redemisti nos, Domine Deus veritatis.

“*R.* Commendo spiritum meum.

“*V.* Gloria patri, etc.

“*R.* In manus, etc.

“*V.* Custodi nos, Domine ut pupillam oculi.

“*R.* Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos.

“*Ant.* Salva nos.”

In the unique copy of Caxton's *Ars Moriendi*, in the Bodleian Library, the prayer “In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum” is the last of those commended to the use of the sick, but it is not mentioned in his *Art and Craft to Know Well to Die*. It occurs repeatedly in the “Lives of the Saints.”

Whatever be the final decision of the archæologists, as to whether this fragment of sculpture is a sepulchral monument, or a dedication stone to St. Michael, or a memorial of some unknown saint or martyr, or a fragment of a representation of the Annunciation or of the Crucifixion, it may be regarded as proved that it is an example of the Saxon art of more than a thousand years ago. The Chapter of Manchester Cathedral have decided that it shall be protected by glass, and placed in some position in the Cathedral where it can be seen, and at the same time be safeguarded from any future danger of accidental damage. Whatever may have been the indifference in such matters of former generations, there is a desire now to treasure the relics of the past. The “Angel Stone” will be preserved with the care due to it as the earliest memorial of Christianity in Manchester.

Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days. By EMILY M. PRITCHARD (“Olwen Powys”). (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1904.)—There are many little-known monastic institutions, such as Cardigan Priory, awaiting

the touch of hand of the *vates sacer* to bring back to the antiquary some echo of their life-history. The authoress here has chosen a Priory of which there are but scant materials for history, but by dint of study and research she has succeeded in gathering up the principal features of its existence. These, so far as records and ruins testify, have been carefully put together, and as a result we have a little book which, for conciseness and avoidance of unnecessary prolixity, compares favourably with larger tomes. The origin of the Priory, like that of many other monasteries, is veiled in some amount of doubt. St. Mathaiarn, a holy man of Irish pedigree, is credited with the foundation, at a period when Christianity cannot well be said to have been firmly established in the land. The institution passed under the government of the opulent Abbey of Chertsey in the twelfth century, and the charters and documents dealing with the matter are described in detail. It was believed that eventually it formed part of the property assigned in dower to Queen Katharine of Aragon, but the authoress calls this "a foolish tale." In 1537 Cardigan Priory was granted to the monastery of Bustlesham, or Bisham, on the banks of the River Thames, an institution then newly reorganised or refounded under the auspices of the King himself. At the surrender of this abbey, Cardigan Priory followed the fate of its superior. Here was a miraculous taper, held by a figure of the Virgin Mary, which was believed to have burned incessantly for nine years; until, on the occasion of a false oath being taken upon it, it ceased of its own accord to burn any longer. William Cavendish obtained a grant of the site at the Dissolution. Many original texts, and translations of the same, are contained in the book, by way of proofs and evidences of the facts related therein; and so the work may stand as a text-book for the student, as well as a readable history for the less studious into whose hands it may chance to fall. We hope the authoress will not fail to take up the history of some other Welsh monastic foundations, of which there are several still awaiting the historian and chroniclers. By perusal of such books as these, a good insight may be gained into the state of religion in Wales in the Middle Ages.

A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels, with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture in the Churches of Great Britain. By CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Stock).—The author of this work, who proposes to describe the symbolism of the representations on tympana, has wisely chosen to illustrate his work so elaborately that very much of the difficulty of properly understanding church sculpture disappears at his touch. We are not told what the tympanum is, or whether it is a

detail of paramount necessity or mere ornamental finish. Many churches are provided with them, a far larger number have none; hence it may be assumed that they were left to the fancy of the builders, who, indeed, prompted by the desire of putting before the eye of the untutored worshipper something which might appeal directly to an intelligence not always capable of grasping the dogmatic utterances of the priesthood, took care to inculcate by these means some important and cardinal feature of religion. The age of these representations is difficult to ascertain, nor can we gather from the work whether they are contemporary with, or subsequent to, the building of the fabrics which they adorn. Conventionalism is frequent, and with some of the symbols, such as the *Agnus Dei*, for example, a considerable preference is manifested. Angels and other celestial beings, animals both wild, domesticated, and imaginary, the Life of Our Lord, trees and flowers in abundance, and many other allegories, are depicted by the sculptor: who seems to have been well provided with the means of maintaining appropriate forms and figures for the subjects he desired to represent. The details of ecclesiastical sculpture have attracted in recent years far more attention than formerly, and to this it is that we owe special monographs on fonts, carved bench-ends, bells, ground-plans, and many other subsidiary parts of the church. Mr. Keyser is evidently at home with his subject. His remarks are always pleasing and acceptable, his knowledge of cognate specimens, both in Britain and on the Continent, wide and accurate, and his descriptions and deductions carry conviction to the mind. It is not asserted that this book by any means exhausts the British series of carved tympana, but we have here at least the flower of them all; and such fine examples as those of Lullington, Peakirk, Castor, Wold Newton, Beckford, Eggleton, Siston, Kilpeck, Lathbury, Dinton, Ridlington, Pedmore, and Fownhope (not to mention many others of equal interest), would be hard to match. It is with works such as this—which should be in every archaeologist's hand—that our true appreciation of the art-gifts of our ancestors may be advanced. It is by means of contrasting examples—which this work enables us to do very thoroughly—that we obtain a more accurate idea of the great potentiality of the sculptor of the Middle Ages, exponent of an art which has now disappeared and can never be revived. If Mr. Keyser's book leads to the preservation of these invaluable relics, and renders them more precious in the eyes of their custodians, and if it pleads with antiquaries to study them more critically, it will not have been written in vain.



Obituary.

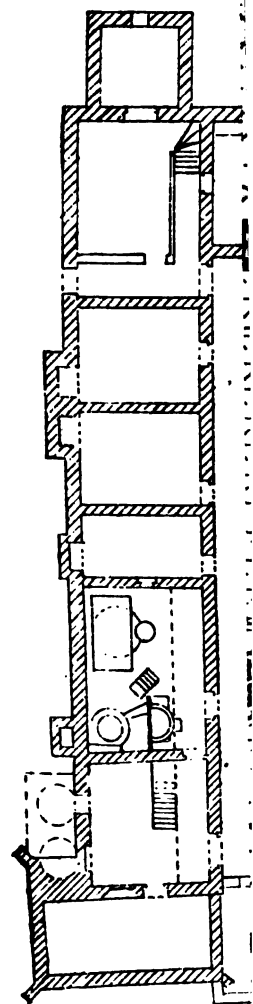
THOMAS BLASHILL.

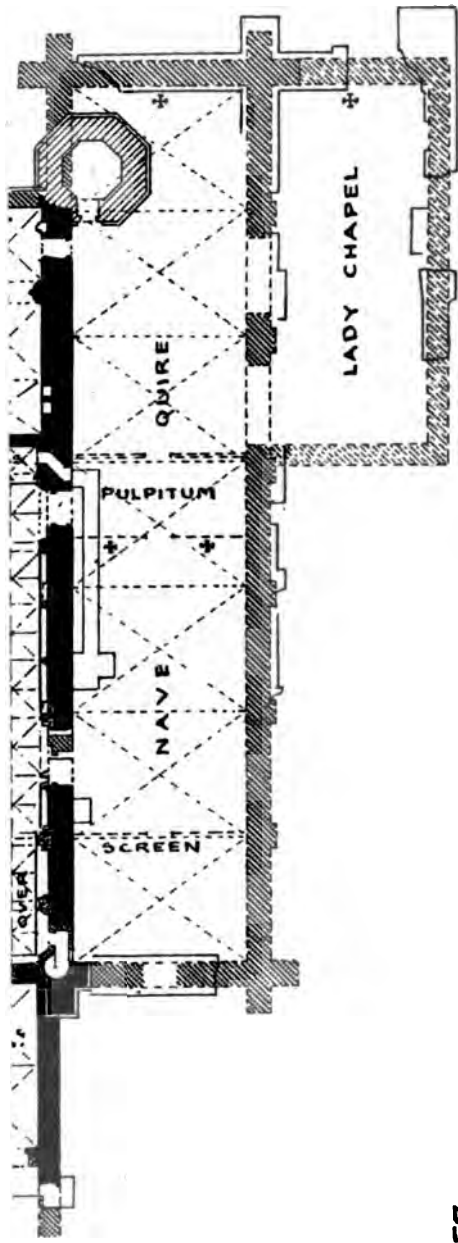
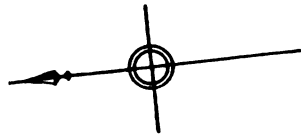
THE Association has sustained a sudden and sad loss by the death of our friend Thomas Blashill, at his residence, 29, Tavistock Square, on January 20th, 1905. Born in 1830, he was son of Henry Blashill, Sutton-on-Hull, Yorkshire. He was at school at Hull and Scarborough, and received his professional education at University College and in a London architect's offices. Subsequently he practised for himself, and became a surveyor of one of the London districts, and ultimately architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works and the London County Council. He was elected A.R.I.B.A. in 1866, and F.R.I.B.A. in 1877. He was also a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institution and of the Zoological Society, and President of the London Architectural Association in 1862. He was an enthusiastic Volunteer, and held a commission in the Honourable Artillery Company.

He was elected a member of our Association on November 27th, 1861, having previously (on June 12th) made the first of his long series of exhibits, *i.e.*, an example of Roman tessellated pavement and the upper part of an amphion, discovered in excavating the new Sewer's Offices at the back of the Guildhall. He was chosen a member of the Council on May 13th, 1863, and a Vice-President on December 7th, 1892, in succession to the late Mr. J. W. Grover, and on December 4th, 1895, succeeded Mr. Loftus Brock as Hon. Treasurer: an office he held until 1898. He contributed a large number of important Papers to our *Journal*.

His last Paper on "The Frame Knitters' Company" has been promised, but not yet printed: it certainly should be. He published in 1896 his book on *Sutton-in-Holderness: the Manor, the Berewic, and the Village Community*, which was reviewed in our *Journal*, vol. ii (N.S.), p. 228-9. He read a Paper to the East Riding Antiquaries on "Hull and Driple in the Thirteenth Century." He was a regular attendant at our Congresses, and will be missed both there and at the meetings of the Association. He was interred in Highgate Cemetery.

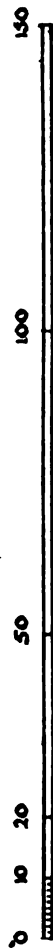
T. CANN HUGHES.





DATES

- Original work 1232 et seq.
- ▨ do destroyed
- later monastic work
- ▨ do destroyed.
- ▨ Post-suppression 1540-53.
- Later and modern.



•LACOCK•ABBAY•WILTS•

HAROLD BRAKESPEAR F.S.A., MEN'S ET DELT.

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NEW SERIES. VOL. XI.—PART III.

DECEMBER, 1905.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BRITISH
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION



FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1905.

LACOCK ABBEY: ✓

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE
BUILDING.

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.



THE members of the British Archæological Association visited Lacock in August, 1880, of which visit there is a pretty full account in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvii, p. 174). Since that time, however, a good deal has been done in the way of restoration and fresh discoveries; so that on revisiting the place in 1904, those who had seen it on the previous occasion would find much that would be new to them. Having been, to a great extent, responsible for the former account, I have rather aimed now at supplementing it with additional matter.

The Abbey was founded, in 1232, for Augustinian Canonesses, by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, in her widowhood. She was Countess in her own right, and had been married to William Longespee, natural son of King Henry II, who, in right of his wife, was Earl of Salisbury, and whose fine monument remains in Salisbury Cathedral. The Countess entered the community and became the first abbess, up to which time the house was governed by

a prioress. She resigned her office before her death, and, when that event occurred, she was buried in the choir of the Abbey church.

Rather less than three years before the Dissolution, the Abbey, which appears to have been perfectly well conducted,¹ was described by the commissioners, appointed 1st July, 28 Henry VIII (1536) as "A hedde house of nunnes of S. Augusteynes rule, of great and large buyldings, set in a towne. To the same and all other adjoynynge by common reaporte a great releef . . . "Church, mansion, and all oder houses in very good astate. The lead and bells there estemed to be sold to £100 10s."² There must, I think, have been fine and considerable buildings, of which no trace remains.

With regard to the subsequent architectural history of the building, I shall have occasion to mention continually two persons who effected great alterations, viz., Sir William Sharrington and John Ivory Talbot. William Sharrington was a gentleman of Norfolk, where his family were landowners, who purchased the Abbey from Henry VIII, at the Dissolution.³ He was a merchant, and in Henry VIII's time a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and Vice-treasurer of the Mint at Bristol. He was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI (1547),⁴

¹ "Soo it is that we founde no notable compertes at Laycok ; the house is very clene well repared and well ordered. And one thing I observed worthy thadvertisement here. The Ladies have their rule, thinstitutiones of their religion and ceremonies of the same written in the frenche tonge which they understand well and are very perfitt in the same, albeit that it varieth from the vulgare frenche that is nowe used, and is moche like the frenche that the common Lawe is written in." (Extract from a letter of John ap Rice to Cromwell, August 23rd or 24th, 1535. See Paper on "The Fall of the Wiltshire Monasteries," by the Rev. W. G. Clark-Maxwell, *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 296.)

² *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 310.

³ Possession was given him at once by the commissioners who received the surrender. (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxxiii, p. 376.)

⁴ This appears from a publication by John Anstis (Garter), 1725: "Observations introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knight-hood of the Bath" (p. 59): "Sometime before his" (Henry VIII's) "Demise, he designed to create his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, and

but very soon got into trouble in connection with the intrigues of Lord Seymour of Sudeley. He seems to have acted—at least occasionally—as steward for Seymour; and, under his influence and to furnish him with money for his political purposes, he was guilty of fraud in connection with his office in the Mint at Bristol. On the fall and execution of Seymour, Sharrington was attainted, and sentenced to be hung. His estates were forfeited, but he was afterwards pardoned and allowed to repurchase his principal estates.¹ He prospered again, under the patronage of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and died in 1553 somewhat suddenly, whilst in office as

proper Dispositions were made for that End; and, previously, he intended to confer the Knighthood of the *Bath* upon him; for which, suitable Apparel was provided; but his Death prevented the Execution of that Design.

“Several Persons of the first Quality were nominated, in order to their being regularly promoted to this Honour, at the Coronation of *Edward VI*; but by reason of some Accident, *because the Time* (as it is expressed) *was so short*, the usual Ceremonies were, by Dispensation, omitted; and to supply that Omission, the King having the Crown on his Head, with *greate Royaltie* knighted them, having himself first received Knighthood from his Uncle the Protector, who was authorised by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, to confer it.”

And (Appendix to the same, p. 50): “Knights nomynate of the *Bathe* the daye of the Kings Majesties Coronation, the xx daye of *February*, Anno 1546.” The list, headed by “The Duke of Suffolke,” includes “Sir William Sherrington.”

(Page 51) “*Ceremonial of the Coronation of Ed. VI.*—It was ordained, that a certain number of Knights should be made instead of the *Bath*, because the time was soe short, that they could not bee made of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremonyes thereunto appertayneing.

“Then it was at the same time ordered by the Kings Royal Majesty, with the advice of his most noble Councel, that they should be made by his Highnesse, being crowned, instead of the *Bath*, as aforesaid, and soe Sir William Paget Secretary did read their names, and they were called by *Quarter* Principal King at Arms, to receive, as after followeth, etc.

“Then because they were nominate of the *Bath*, and made with soe greate Royaltie, they were commanded to pay the Dewtyes of money, every of them after their Degrees, and Estates, dowble the sume of other Knights.”

¹ In the deed of restitution of his property, in my possession, the office of Vice-treasurer of the Mint at Bristol is expressly excepted.

Sheriff of Wilts,¹ at nearly the same time as the King, Edward VI. He appears to have been engaged in building operations up to the time of his death.

John Ivory Talbot was the eldest son of Sir John Ivory, of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, by his wife Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Talbot of Lacock. He succeeded his grandfather, and took the name of Talbot, when a young man, in 1714. He was evidently a man of natural good taste and ability. Unfortunately, he lived at a time of bad taste, and the consequence was that his alterations were such as one can only regret. He died in 1772, at the age of 85.

The architectural remains of the Abbey consist of the principal domestic buildings standing to the north of the church, and converted into a dwelling-house after the Dissolution.

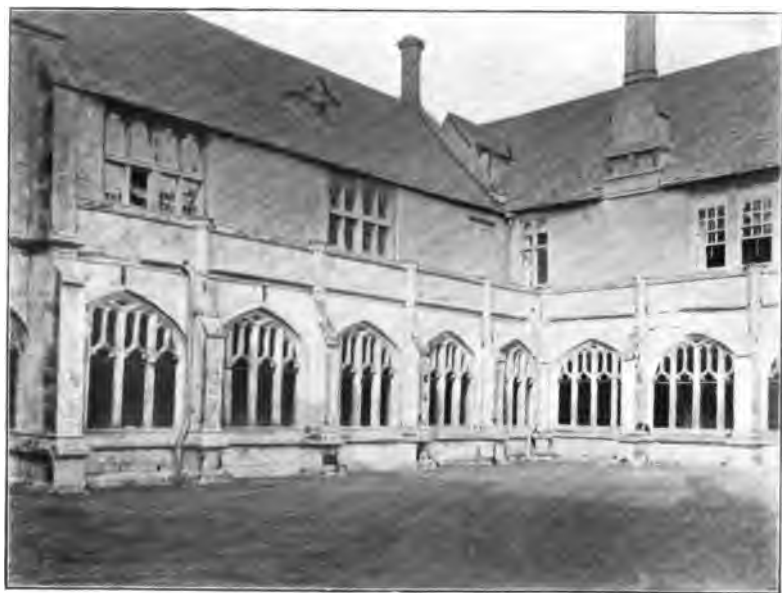
The Abbey church—as was generally but by no means always the case—was pulled down at once, with the exception of its north wall, which was left to form the south wall of the dwelling-house, all but its easternmost bay, which projected beyond the adjacent buildings, and was therefore removed. The materials were used for building purposes. The foundations of the church, as far as they remain, have been recently excavated at the joint expense of the Society of Antiquaries and the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and the plan has been published. Not a piece of worked stone remained *in situ* and everything had to be covered up again. The result was to confirm the previously-accepted opinion that it was a long aisle-less building without transepts; and further to show that it was seven bays in length, the easternmost wall being just beyond the present tower.

Foundations were also found, on the south side of the

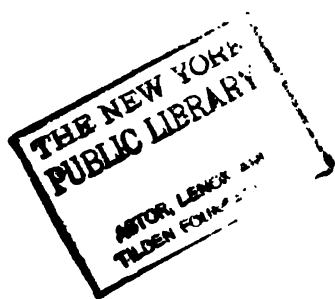
¹ There is a most interesting record, exhibited in the Museum of the Record Office, viz., an order by "Jane the Queen," for the making of letters patent to constitute Edward Baynard, Esq., of Lackham (a manor in the parish of Lacock), Sheriff of Wilts, in the place of Sir William Sharington, late sheriff, deceased. The order is in her own handwriting, and the name is spelled incorrectly "Benard." To this was tacked an order, in identical terms, by Mary the Queen, ignoring the Lady Jane's order.



LACOCK ABBEY, SOUTH FRONT, SITE OF CHURCH.



LACOCK ABBEY, NORTH-EAST ANGLE OF CLOISTER COURT.



choir, of the Lady Chapel, which is known from documentary evidence to have been erected in 1315.

The west wall of the church returned at the south-west angle of the cloisters, and a small portion of it remains in the form of a buttress, facing south. The church would probably be among the first buildings erected after the foundation in 1232. The structural evidences have been much obliterated by alterations carried out in the first half of the last century ; but, from what remains, from fragments found and from drawings, we know that it had a lofty stone vault, with moulded groin ribs, very similar to those in the Chapter-house, triple caps and shafts carried down to a stringcourse about the level of the heads of the doorways, and finished with corbels beneath the stringcourse.¹ The projecting features were chopped off and plastered over when the church was pulled down, but became visible on the peeling off of the plaster. Some architectural friends of mine questioned the possibility of the church vaulting having been completed in stone, on structural grounds ; but the subsequent discovery, in the foundation of a garden wall, of a stone boss, which undoubtedly belonged to the church vaulting, has set that matter at rest, and shows that it was not only carried out in stone, but that it stood till the Dissolution.

In the four westernmost bays of the north wall were single lancet windows, lighting the church over the roof of the original cloister ; but these appear to have been blocked later, owing to the existence of a building over the vaulting of the later cloister. In the fifth and sixth bays from the west there were no windows, as the dormitory abutted. In the second and fourth bays there were doorways, that in the fourth bay having been unblocked in 1894.² The other appears to have been exactly like it, but altered in some way, when the fifteenth-

¹ Very similar features are to be seen in the small portion that remains of the south wall of the church of Hinton Priory (Carthusian), in Somersetshire, which is of the same date, and was founded by the same foundress on the same day.

² See a Paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxix, p. 11).

century cloister was built, to preserve the entrance whilst providing a support for the cloister-vaulting. The doorway would be blocked at the Dissolution, and a modern vaulting shaft was probably inserted in the eighteenth century for the sake of uniformity. The successive alterations cannot be traced now, owing to an attempt evidently made to open the old doorway, about 1828, which attempt failing resulted in the making of a new vaulting-shaft and the present modern doorway.¹

On the east side of the cloisters, proceeding northward from the church, are the sacristy, Chapter-house, slype,² and day-room. When previously seen by the Association, the three rooms were open to the terrace and closed on the cloister side. The east walls and windows had been removed in the eighteenth century. These windows were Renaissance work, with Italian consoles, differing very slightly from those which remain, and of which good examples³ may be seen, on the north side of the cloister court, in the refectory wall.

About ten years ago, the east walls of sacristy and Chapter-house were replaced, and, there being no data for restoration, windows of Early English character were introduced, but larger than the original windows are likely to have been. The original doorway from the cloister to the sacristy was then reopened, a vaulting shaft introduced in the eighteenth century for the sake of uniformity was removed, and it became apparent that

¹ All but the inner arch, which has just been added.

² A passage in this position has been frequently termed "the slype," and I have used the word here simply for convenience to distinguish this particular passage.

³ These windows are probably unique in England, though there is a certain analogy in somewhat earlier work at Layer Marney as regards the use of consoles under the heads. The origin of the flat face, with filleted edges, of some Elizabethan and later mullions is, I think, here seen, viz., that it was derived from the Italian pilaster. The circle, at the intersection of principal mullion and transom, and semicircle, at the head of mullion, are also derived from similar features on Italian pilasters. A semicircle, at the foot of mullion, does not occur in Sharington's work, but photographs show that, in the Renaissance work of the Chateau de Blois, it does occur in that position, so that the work there is nearer the prototype. Several critics have noted a French influence in the Lacock work.

the Perpendicular cloister-vaulting, where it comes down upon the arch of the Early English doorway, must have been finished with a pendant.

It is a controverted point whether the octagonal pillars, in the western part of the sacristy and Chapter-house, are of the original thirteenth-century work or of the fourteenth century. Very competent critics have pronounced them to be of the later date. One suggestion was that they might have replaced Purbeck marble pillars that had failed, but none of the other shafts are of Purbeck. Another suggestion was that the vaulting was originally completed in the eastern projecting parts of these buildings only, and that the dormitory had a temporary wooden floor, at first; but I cannot see any positive evidence of difference of date in the two portions of the vaulting. The mouldings of caps and bases of these two octagonal pillars differ but little from those of the clustered pillar, originally a respond,¹ in the sacristy. Very similar pillars are to be seen, in thirteenth-century work, in the crypt under the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, and I am inclined to think the apparently later features may be simply examples of changing style.

A small portion of the original thirteenth-century tile pavement was found, about 1879, but, as it could not be preserved *in situ*, it was taken up and placed in a frame.

It is now² apparent that the sacristy had originally no direct communication with the church. The trefoil-headed doorway, on the inside, appears to have been originally a seat. In the fifteenth century it was turned

¹ The eastern part of the sacristy, which is higher than the rest, formed originally two distinct chapels, with a wall of division between (perhaps with an opening in it, as in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral), which wall was removed in the fifteenth century, and, at apparently the same time, a double aumbry in the north wall was removed, an arched recess—probably for a monument—substituted, and that and the earlier work of the northernmost chapel, or bay, painted.

² By the removal of plaster, since the visit of the Association. The freestone, at the sides of the original recess, does not continue below the point where the seat must have been.

into a doorway, a Perpendicular doorway¹ was made, opening into the church, and the jamb-mouldings of the recess, or seat, were continued down to near the ground. The lower part of the jamb, on the east side, appears to be ancient, but not original, therefore, probably of the fifteenth century, and the lower stone, on the west side, appears to be an eighteenth-century restoration.

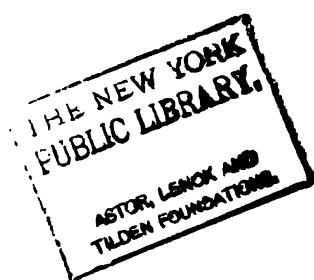
The Early English doorway from church to cloisters, and the doorway of dormitory staircase of the same date, were unblocked at the same time as the principal door of sacristy, in 1894. There is a small groined vestibule to the staircase, and some of the original steps remain. This staircase was lit originally—from the cloisters—by a two-light shafted window, too high for the later cloister, and therefore re-faced externally in the fifteenth century. The upper part of the staircase appears to have been lit by a thirteenth-century trefoil opening, now blocked, but visible in the wall above the leads of the present cloister. A passage was made from the vestibule at the foot of the dormitory staircase to the church—probably in the fifteenth century—to avoid passing through the cloister at night. This was perfectly plain, and has been walled up, for strength; but a trace of the doorway that led into it from the church can be seen externally.

The most striking change, since the previous visit of the Association, is the unblocking of the west front of the Chapter-house. This has revealed a fine central archway with unglazed side-windows (the usual arrangement), all of the original work.² It is evident that there were some alterations in this part, previous to the Dissolution. The bases of the window-shafts on the inside are cut, and pin-holes are visible in the shafts, which shows that boards were put up, to stop the draught, and very likely removed in the summer.³ The Early English

¹ This fifteenth-century doorway has had the blocking set back since the visit of the Association.

² The way in which the work of the later cloister crosses the earlier work is curious, and particularly remarkable at the west front of the Chapter-house.

³ I have been told that the same thing was done in the Chapter-house at Durham.



jambes of the central arch have been cut in a similar manner, to a height of about 5 ft., 5 in., probably at the same date, for the erection of a wooden door, and there are cuts in the Early English caps, on the north side of the opening, and also in the Perpendicular work on the south side, which shows that a board was fixed across horizontally. This was done before the painting of the fifteenth century, as the painting stops at this board and does not continue below it. Perhaps the whole head of the arch may have been boarded up, leaving only the space between that and the door for ventilation, but the object of the board is not quite clear.

Sharington turned the Chapter-house into a dwelling-room, and walled up both the archway and the windows *flush* internally, which involved a good deal of mutilation, but, his wall being of less thickness than the thirteenth-century wall, a good deal of the mediæval work remained visible externally, till it was almost entirely concealed in the eighteenth century. Under the central arch, Sharington introduced a Renaissance doorway, which at some subsequent date had been cut wider, weakening the work and causing the head to crack. Ivory Talbot, in the eighteenth century, would appear to have at first retained this doorway, re-facing it in modern Gothic on the inside; but afterwards he threw the Chapter-house open to the terrace, and walled up the west side entirely, mutilating the Renaissance cornice of the doorway very badly, which up to that time had evidently been as fresh as if newly worked, and reducing that part of the cloister to a state of dull uniformity. Sharington's doorway being so mutilated, I took it out, but preserved the stones. Fortunately, I have almost identically similar doorways *in situ* in the courtyard. For the erection of this doorway, a detached shaft of the Early English work on the north side had been knocked out, but on the south side I found the Perpendicular work behind it well preserved.

In the central bay of the north wall of the Chapter-house there has been a Renaissance fireplace,¹ which must

¹ When the sixteenth-century plan of the house was made, this fireplace had not yet been inserted. This is perfectly clear, and is a most

certainly have been a very fine thing, but of which the barest indications only remain,¹ and it is evident that it was deliberately destroyed in the eighteenth century, *because*² it was not Gothic. It is of exactly the same width (6 ft.) as the fireplace, which remains perfect, in the Stone Gallery, and it had a projecting hood, which appears to have run up nearly to the vaulting, and was probably supported by male and female caryatid figures standing on pedestals, such as are seen supporting the table in the upper room of the tower. For the insertion of this fireplace, the stringcourse which extends between the corbels of the vaulting was cut away for one bay.

We found that the octagonal pillar in the Chapter-house had been underpinned, to counteract sinking, by the introduction of two large stones, which was probably done, without shoring-up, by inserting them one at a time, and in this process the base mouldings were destroyed. That this was done before the Dissolution is evident, as we found a stone coffin *in situ*, immediately to the east of the pillar, too high for the original floor level. The present floor level is, therefore, practically the fifteenth-century level, and it is evident that at that time the base of the clustered pillar was covered over and concealed. It is now exposed to view, but is mutilated and decayed. The small portion of original floor beneath it shows signs of settlement.

interesting point. The side windows in the west front of Chapter-house had apparently been walled up. The church had been pulled down, and its doorways walled up, except that leading to the sacristy or chapel. The dormitory staircase had been closed, the book-cupboard and adjacent doorway, and the lavatory, had been all blocked. The tower had not yet been built, but a garderobe passage, added by Sharington to the north of the nuns' garderobes had been either begun, or was at least intended. The gables above that passage must, however, be rather later, as one of the finials is a lion holding a shield, which bears the letters E. R. crowned, in compliment to Edward VI.

¹ No architectural fragments were found in the blocking, except a bit of sixteenth-century cornice.

² Ivory Talbot must have been a *purist* in architecture, and have shared Horace Walpole's opinion that the Early Renaissance in England was "that bastard style which intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture." He therefore had no scruple in destroying work which we now recognise as exceptionally valuable.

There has been a stone seat round the Chapter-house originally. The indication of this is best seen at the south-west angle, where the outline of the original base may be seen, cut down to the size of the vaulting-shaft, in the eighteenth century, when a piece of shaft was added below, on which is worked a plinth, which was then carried all round the inside of the building as a finish. This shows that part of the stone seat remained to that date, but part must have been removed in the sixteenth century, when the two responds of the large arches, which originally came down to the seat, were continued to the ground. This explains why those responds have no bases.

The gravestone of Ilbert de Chaz, which was in the Chapter-house when the Association were here before, is now at Monkton Farleigh,¹ to which place it properly belongs.

Since the visit of the Association an eighteenth-century inner ring of stone, and door of the same date, have been removed from the western arch of the "slype," bringing it back to its original form. The shafts of the archway are probably an eighteenth-century restoration. They cannot be original, at least in their present state, as the neck-moulds of the caps are cut away and the shafts come too high. Besides which, they are pieced. At the east end of the "slype," the plinth of the original doorway was found, and the inner part of south jamb and part of the springer of inner arch remained. This gave the width and height of the doorway, which had been converted into a much higher arch in the eighteenth century. The outer face of the doorway has now been restored. The hole into which the wooden bar ran back has been found during the work, and left open to inspection.

In the cloister wall, to the north of west entrance to "slype," were originally two trefoil-headed cupboards, probably for books, of which the southernmost remains, and has been recently unblocked. There is a groove for

¹ See a paper, by the present writer, on the subject (*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 146).

original shelf. A later shelf has been added above, in rather a rough manner. There is a rebate for the door-frame. The northernmost cupboard was altered into a doorway, probably in the fourteenth century; and it was suggested by Mr. H. Brakspear—to whom I am much indebted for professional and critical assistance in all this work, and also for kindly permitting the reproduction of his ground plan of the whole building—that more room was required for books, and that part of the day-room was parted off for that purpose. This is supported by the fact that we have since found mortices in the east and west walls of day-room, which seem to show that it was partitioned for some purpose.

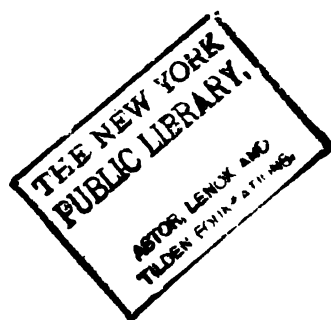
In the north wall of the same bay of the cloister is the eastern half of a thirteenth-century archway, which formed the entrance to passage leading to the day-room. The western half was taken entirely out in the fifteenth century, apparently to make it easier to introduce a respond of the cloister-vaulting. At the same time, a fifteenth-century doorway was introduced within the limits of the older arch. This has been unblocked since the visit of the Association, and proves to be a foliated arch which had six cusps, all unfortunately knocked off, when it was walled up, in the eighteenth century; but the whole of one of the cusps and parts of two others have been found and refixed. This archway leads into a thirteenth-century vaulted passage, which had an arched doorway at its north end, so knocked about that we did not think it advisable to restore it, but have introduced a window there. On the west side is an original doorway, now walled up, which communicated with the principal substructure of the refectory; and on the east side is an original doorway which forms the entrance to the day-room.

In the day-room, called also the warming-house, or calefactory, the removal of the plaster from the walls revealed the fact that the inner face of the doorway, formed out of the north book-cupboard, has been entirely obliterated.¹ On the west side of the day-room, the

¹ This was done by Sharrington, as his plan shows no doorway in this position.



LACOCK ABBEY, EAST CLOISTER, LOOKING NORTH.



splays and inner arch of one of the original windows remain perfect, with a stone seat in the window. The external face of the window has been altered, probably in the early eighteenth century, when a projecting sill was inserted. The recess for the seat had been filled up in the sixteenth century, and, until I unblocked it, only the outline of the seat could be seen. On the east side of the room, the inner arches and mutilated splays of three original windows and the outer members of their external arches remain. These windows have also had seats at a lower level than in the west window.

The window in the second bay from the south was evidently closed by Sharington when he erected the chimney of the Stone Gallery. In place of the first and third windows, he introduced Renaissance windows. Ivory Talbot, in the eighteenth century, removed these, and, cutting away the stonework up to the original outer arches of the windows, made open arches. In the case of the third bay, he cut through the lower part of Sharington's chimney-breast and up to the original window arch, as before. We have now restored these windows since the visit of the Association, introducing two lancets in each, with a quatrefoil in the head, the guide for the restoration being a fragment which we found, and which the architect concluded had belonged to these windows, because it corresponded in size.

The fourth arch from the south was entirely introduced in the eighteenth century, for the sake of uniformity. Therefore, in that bay, the original arrangement had been different from the others, but there being no clue to it, we thought it best to treat that arch similarly to the rest.

There are the remains, in the west wall, of a large hooded fireplace, which has had a bracket on each side, of which that on the north side only remains, but the outline of the other may be traced.

In the south-west part of the day-room is a stone tank, cut out of a single stone, which has long been an object of interest. It was probably placed there soon after the Dissolution. Its use is not known, but I think it may

probably have been simply a cistern for storing the water supply for dipping purposes.

Since the visit of the Association, the "nuns' caldron" has been placed in the day-room. The members saw it in the position in which it was placed by Ivory Talbot in 1747. It narrowly escaped injury, if not destruction, by the fall of a large elm tree, in September, 1903, during a gale. The limbs of the tree came all round it, breaking some of the stonework of the pedestal on which it was set, and, if it had not been that—about 1876—I had had the pedestal built solid, previous to which it was hollow, like the old altar monuments that are common in our churchyards, I believe the whole thing must have come to the ground.

An attempt was once made, about a hundred years ago, to break it up and steal the metal. The marks of the sledge-hammer may be seen upon it. To deaden the sound, the would-be thief filled it with sand, which helped to frustrate his attempt, but the strength of the metal was its chief preservation, as it is evident that a blow on the exposed lip failed to break it.

The same pedestal has been re-used, all but the top stone.

The inscription, which records that it was made by Peter Wagheuens, of Malines, in 1500, has been published in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvii, p. 178). The material is bell-metal.

In the north wall of the day-room an original doorway has been reopened, leading into the reredorter sub-vault. This was originally one room, with a plain barrel vault, lit by two Early English loop windows, of which the one at the east end came down lower than the western one. At the east end of north wall there is a recess, which appears to have been a garderobe, as it is immediately over the main drain of the Abbey. The wall at the back of this recess had been cut through, to make a doorway, probably in the eighteenth century. It has now been replaced.

An external doorway in the south wall, now closed, may be of the fourteenth century, at which time the sub-vault was divided by a wall, which appears to be

connected with an extension of the dormitory, as it carries part of its outer wall. In this wall is an original doorway, which has been cut wider, probably in the eighteenth century.

The original window at the west end of the sub-vault has been reduced at the top by Sharington, who inserted a wood lintel, walled up the part above it, and in the lower part made a new window of an English type that he frequently used, but in this case combined with an Ionic pillar externally, the object of which will be noticed later.

An unsightly triangular pier in the western part of the sub-vault, probably put up in the eighteenth century, supports a chimney.

On the exterior of the day-room (east side) there is a very heavy flying buttress, erected in the fifteenth century, and reduced in projection and probably in height in the sixteenth century, after the Dissolution. This is just beyond the second window opening from the south. It was erected to resist a failure of the building, as was noticed by Mr. Christian on the occasion of the former visit of the Association. At this point, we found that the original wall is most out of the perpendicular, being two inches out at the head of the window-arch. That the buttress could be safely reduced in projection may be due to the fact that the chimney, erected by Sharington, acted as an additional abutment at that point. We found that this chimney-breast, which was cut through by Ivory Talbot in the eighteenth century, has not gone out of the perpendicular at all. If the buttress was reduced in height, the object might be to avoid darkening one of Sharington's four-light windows in the Stone Gallery.

On the north side of the cloisters, and to the west of the passage by which the day-room is approached, is a vaulted substructure to the refectory, of the thirteenth century. It is now divided into a coal-cellar and other offices, but was originally two bays in width and four in length on the north side, but only three bays in length on the south side, as the space at the south-west angle was occupied by the staircase to the refectory.

Over the buildings above mentioned—on the east side of the cloister court—was the dormitory. The original dormitory, of the thirteenth century, was evidently lower than the present height of the building. Its eaves line seems to be indicated by some stone tabling remaining for a certain distance at the south end of the west wall.¹ At that angle there also appear to be remains of the south jamb of one of the dormitory windows.

How far the original dormitory extended in a northward direction we can hardly tell, but the later dormitory extended over the rere dorter-sub-vault. The arch of its great north window remains, and the roof, which has foliated windbraces, and, whether classed as a Late Decorated or an Early Perpendicular roof, must have been erected in the fourteenth century.

On the north side of the cloister court, over the passage and substructure above mentioned, was the refectory. An inspection of its south wall shows that, as in the case of the dormitory, it has been raised, in this instance in the fifteenth century. There are considerable remains of a very fine Perpendicular roof of that date. In the south wall are slight remains of two circular windows, one of the earlier and one of the later date.

On the west side of the cloister court, at the south end, is a vaulted room of the thirteenth century, with later alterations. It may be seen, on the inside, that its south wall is later than the church—as might have been expected—the wall having been built against the work of the church, and a small portion of the latter having been cut away, to clear out the angle. It may also be seen that the north wall of the room is not bonded into the east wall. From these indications, it appears that there was, at first, only a wall on the west side of the cloisters, and that the buildings of the western range were erected later. The room has originally had two lancet windows in the south wall, one of which has been converted into a two-light mullioned window—probably in the fourteenth century—to obtain more light, as the

¹ There are some remains of similar tabling in the east wall of what was probably an extension of the dormitory, over the sacristy and Chapter-house.

other was walled up at an uncertain date ; but, as there is evidence externally, from the remains of a dripstone, inserted in the wall above, that a building was erected against it, ranging north and south, before the Dissolution, the westernmost lancet window may probably have been closed when that building was erected.

There are the remains of a large hooded fireplace of the original work in the west wall, a good deal mutilated—apparently about the year 1828—for the erection of a warming apparatus which did not succeed, and was shortly afterwards removed.

A little to the north of this, in the next bay, is what appears to be a small original doorway, rather high up in the wall. Its intention is not obvious, but it may have led by a staircase to the floor above, and, if so, must have had steps leading up to it. It was blocked in the fifteenth century, and the space utilised for the flue from a fireplace which was then inserted in the wall below it. This second fireplace, together with various mortices in the walls and over the cap of central pillar, make it probable that the room was then partitioned.

At the extreme north end of the west wall is the north jamb of an original doorway, being the only evidence of any original entrance at the ground level.

Between this and the later fireplace a two-light window has been inserted, in the fifteenth century. There is a doorway at the south end of the west wall, which is an insertion, apparently of the fourteenth century, and probably led into another building to the west.

There is no evidence¹ of any original communication with the cloister, as the present doorway appears to be of the fourteenth century, contemporaneous with that part of the later cloister.

The groining of this room was evidently not completed

¹ It does not, however, follow that there was not an original doorway in this position, as the Early English doorway above mentioned faced *towards* the room, the door opening *from* it, which is not the arrangement one would expect in the principal entrance. In the two adjacent bays of the vaulted cloister they seem to have *obliterated* the traces of the early work. In the still later part of the cloister they generally did not.

at first, nor with much care, as the groin ribs do not agree in section with the springers.

The use of this room is matter of conjecture. I am inclined to think it may have been part of the Abbess's lodging. The importance of the original fireplace appears to be an argument in favour of this view.

On the north wall are remains of mediæval painting—sketches—one of which, probably of the fourteenth century, represents St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ on his arm. A rougher sketch probably is the Crucifixion of St. Andrew.

To the north of this room is a groined thirteenth-century passage (now a dark cellar), which was the principal *entrance* to the cloister. This is shown by the face of its eastern doorway being towards the west.

To the north of this passage is another groined room of much the same date, three bays in length by two in breadth, the west side of which was parted off, to form a cellar, about 1828.

There was a doorway of some kind to this room from the north walk of cloister, at any rate as early as the sixteenth century. The present doorway is quite modern. In the west wall there is a thirteenth-century doorway walled up,¹ and indications of two windows walled up, one having been closed when a fireplace was inserted in the fifteenth century, in the spandrils of which are the initials of the Abbess Elena de Montefort.² I cannot determine the use of this room.

Over this room and the passage last mentioned was an ancient hall, which must have been mediæval with later alterations. It is shown in Dingley's view, 1684.³ In it, no doubt, in glass,⁴ in one of the windows, Aubrey, in

¹ This also was a doorway, leading *out* of the room. Therefore, there probably was a doorway from the cloister as well.

² See a paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxvi, p. 44).

³ *History from Marble*, vol. ii, p. ccccciii (published in facsimile by the Camden Society).

⁴ This is a conclusion arrived at from a personal examination of Aubrey's MS. Canon Jackson's transcript cannot be entirely relied on, being very inaccurate. See a Note by the present writer (*Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vol. iii, p. 514). The letters were in colour.

the seventeenth century, saw the letters A. W., and queried whether those were the initials of the last Abbess. She was Johanna Temys; and Canon Jackson, who edited Aubrey's work, suggested that the letters were perhaps for Agnes de Wick, an Abbess who was elected in 1380. This is probable.

This ancient hall was replaced, in 1754, by the present hall, built under the direction of Mr. Sanderson Miller, of Radway, Warwickshire, an amateur architect of some repute, and a friend of Ivory Talbot. It is of interest as an example of early Gothic revival, in which it was considered desirable to make everything as symmetrical as in a Palladian room, but the destruction of ancient work for its erection is a matter of very great regret.

Over the southernmost room of the range is a Palladian¹ dining-room of much the same date. It is good of its kind, but again one regrets the disappearance of the earlier room, which is shown in Dingley's view, and which was, no doubt, the "great dining-room" mentioned by him. His view shows that it had a large mullioned window to the west, which looks mediæval, but one cannot certainly tell its character, on account of the small size of the view. There is some reason for thinking that the wall under it, which contains a most peculiar unsymmetrical four-centred arch, though at first sight mediæval, may be really Sharrington's work after the Dissolution, as, in the sixteenth-century plan, which is generally reliable, it is not shown. If so, the window could not be earlier.

Externally, however, a considerable part of the east wall of the dining-room is seen to be mediæval. There is a square-headed window of late thirteenth-century work, which I partially unblocked some time ago, and, immediately over it, a set-off in the wall marks, I believe, the limit of height of the mediæval building. It agrees with the original height of the adjacent building over the south cloister. The site of the dining-room, presumably, may have been part of the Abbess's lodging.

¹ I use the word "Palladian" as a convenient term for that type of Italian design, though Palladio was, of course, of much earlier date

There were buildings over, shown in Dingley's and Buck's (1732) view, which may probably have been of the sixteenth century.

To the north-west of the cloister court, in the angle between the north and west ranges, is the kitchen, of which the east and south walls are those of the original Abbey kitchen. In the south wall is the four-centred arch of a fifteenth-century fireplace, which has been long disused. Some part of the tabling of the chimney over is of the same date. Near the north end of the east wall are remains of a doorway of the thirteenth century.

The west wall of the kitchen has been set back, a few feet, either by Sir William Sharington or soon after his time. The roof, therefore, is also of this later date, but the kitchen reaches to the roof, as must have been also the case with the earlier kitchen.

When the buildings came into Sharington's possession, the west wall was in line with the rest of the buildings of the west range. This is shown on the sixteenth-century plan, and that the plan is correct we have proved by finding the foundations of the southern end of the original west wall. This was left, in order to form the back wall of an added building, shown in Dingley's view, some of the foundations of which we also found, in which was the principal entrance to the house, and, no doubt, a staircase leading up to the hall. The whole of this was removed in the eighteenth century. At that time, also, the later west wall of the kitchen was completely altered. The windows and buttresses, shown in Dingley's view, were replaced by pointed windows and buttresses, in wrong positions, put up for appearance, and not for use. A battlement was also added. The wall was covered with roughcast, which we have removed, in order that no doubt as to the construction of the wall may arise in the future, although the wall is a rough one, and was not intended to be exposed.

The original cloister of the thirteenth century appears to have had an arcade of twin shafts of Purbeck marble, and probably trefoiled arches of freestone, the evidence of this consisting of fragments found in the foundation of a later cloister, probably of the fourteenth century, at

the north-west angle of the garth. Of this fourteenth-century cloister, which appears to have been a wooden-roofed one of good character, part of the corner pier and two corbels remain beneath the vaulting of its fifteenth-century successor. By what appear to be the remains of corbel stones, on the west side of the court, it seems to have extended along that west side.

If it was ever intended to continue it along the south side, the intention was abandoned, and two bays of a vaulted cloister of rather later character were erected, at the end of the fourteenth century. This has a good window, transitional from Decorated to Perpendicular, and over it was a room of the same date, probably a private chapel of the Abbess, approached by a staircase from the cloister, which staircase also had a doorway to the church.

The chapel was lit by two two-light windows, with traceried heads, under square lintels, of the same date as the work below. In these windows were figures of St. Augustine, etc., in glass, still remaining in 1684. One of these windows has been partially unblocked, and the design of the tracery recovered.¹

The rest of the south walk of the cloister is fully-developed Perpendicular. Over this part there was a low building, perhaps a passage, which had two-light Perpendicular windows, having the peculiarity of both a glass-line and a rebate for a shutter. The indications of several of these windows, which were walled up by Sharington, may be traced, and the head of one of them, which was taken out after the Dissolution, was found in the blocking of the church doorway. Sharington raised this passage to the height of the Abbess's chapel, as may be seen by the cutting through of a stringcourse which belonged to the fifteenth-century parapet, and introduced three two-light transomed windows, with very wide lights, which were essentially Tudor,² without any Italian

¹ See a Paper, "Lacock Abbey," by Harold Brakspear, F.S.A. (*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxxi, p. 238), for a restored drawing of this window.

² The mouldings are of two orders—the outer one a hollow and the

element, therefore probably part of his first work on his obtaining possession of the Abbey. These windows have *also* the peculiarity of a rebate for a shutter, as well as a glass-line, probably adopted from the fifteenth-century windows just mentioned. One of these windows remains, walled up. The other two were, unfortunately, altered, on the recommendation of the Clerk of the Works, about 1828, the transoms being removed, the windows altered to three-lights, with pointed heads, and the inner roll-moulding of jambs removed.

Until the eighteenth century, when they were thrown into one, this gallery, raised by Sharington, and the former Abbess's chapel, were distinct though communicating passages.

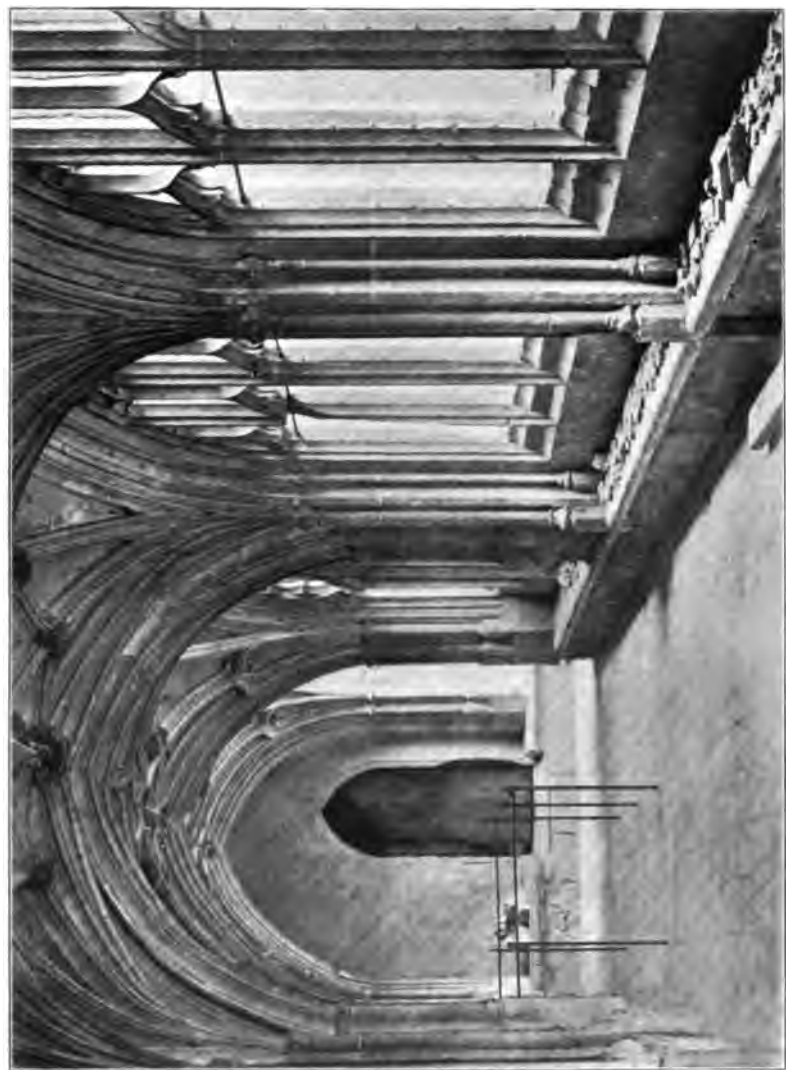
In the earlier and later part of the south walk of the cloisters are found the same set of mason's marks—very striking ones. In the rest of the cloisters there are no masons' marks.¹

In the vaulting of the earlier part occur the arms of Baynard of Lackham. In the later part, but with the tinctures falsified by repainting, are the arms of Roche of Bromham, also Beauchamp of Bromham, the Heytesbury shield of Hungerford, flanked by sickles, and the letter *E* on a shield, which has been generally assumed to refer to the foundress and first Abbess, Ela, but which probably refers to Elena de Montefort, an Abbess of the fifteenth century.

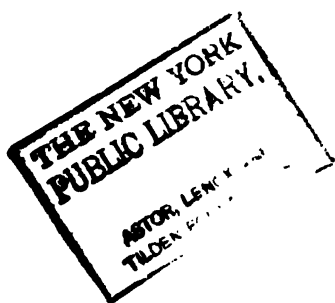
The gravestone of the foundress, as being in this part of the cloister, may now be noticed. Some years ago, I shifted the stone, from its position in the centre of the cloister-alley, where it was subject to much wear, to the side, and put an iron rail to protect it. I then ascertained that there was no interment beneath it. The inscription has not hitherto been published correctly. It is as follows, but parts of it are quite obliterated :—

inner one a roll. If there had been another order, with pointed heads to the lights, within the roll, it would have completed a familiar type of Tudor window, but that feature is absent.

¹ With the exception of a sixteenth-century mark, on a mullion which must have been restored at that date. Having to repair the mullion, I retained the portion which bears this mark.



LACOCK ABBEY, SOUTH CLOISTER, LOOKING WEST.



INFRA SVNT INFOSSA ELÆ VENERABILIS OSSA
 QVÆ DEDIT HAS SEDES SACRAS MONIALIBVS ÆDES
 ABBATISSA QVIDEM QVÆ SANCTE VIXIT IBIDEM
 ET COMITISSA SARVM VIRTVTVM PLENA BONARVM

INFOSSA, which, in this case, is a single word, signifying *buried*, has hitherto been read DEFOSSA, which has the same meaning. This was evidently a correction of DEPOSITA (the reading given by the Rev. G. Witham, in his "History of Lacock Abbey," printed by himself, in 1806), which was obviously incorrect, made by some person who was not familiar with the Venerable Bede's epitaph, or the true reading would not have been missed.

The Æ diphthong, used in this inscription, is an evidence of late date, and there are other peculiarities about the stone which have led some persons to think that the whole inscription is not really ancient, but the difficulties in the way of supposing it to be fabricated appear to be greater than any difficulties in the way of its authenticity.

I believe it to have been found in its original position on the site of the choir of the Abbey Church, about 1740.

Some of the carved keystones of the vaulting of the east cloister have been altered by filling in the original sinkage with cement, and working in it coats-of-arms that have no historical connection with the Abbey. This was done in the early eighteenth century, and is a curious instance of the revival of a Gothic taste, when the whole thing was rather a matter of fancy than of serious study. The whole of the present painting on the vaulting is of that date, except in a few places that were, at that time, covered up. Two original coats-of-arms appear to have had their tinctures *intentionally* altered.

The tracery of the cloister window, opposite the west entrance of the "slype," is not original but an eighteenth-century copy—so fair a copy that it generally escapes notice, but examination will show that the whole of the filling of the window-arch was taken out, probably to enable stone to be brought in, that way, when the hall was rebuilt. The original moulded plinth was afterwards

replaced, and the tracery, which had probably been broken up, was copied.

In the north walk of the cloister, near its west end, are the remains of the lavatory, consisting of the great arch of the original lavatory of the thirteenth century, too high for the later vaulted cloister, which, therefore, conceals the top of it. The cloister vaulting is, at that point, carried on a corbel, to avoid obstruction, and, in connection with the building of the vaulted cloister, the lavatory itself has been remodelled, apparently as a benefaction by one of the Hungerford family, as the arms and sickle badge of Hungerford occur on the work. The spaces between this ornamental stonework and the arches above are filled with fresco painting, representing, in the larger space an abbess kneeling to a saint (no doubt, St. Augustine), who is a bishop, and is giving her his benediction, and in the smaller space perhaps a female saint, less well preserved.

The front of the stonework, below the basin, was ornamented with narrow panels with cusped heads, of which fragments were found in the blocking, as the lavatory was blocked and the projecting part removed by Sharington.

In 1684 there were remains of painting round the walls of the cloister, but all traces have been destroyed in later replastering.

Immediately to the west of the lavatory, behind a fifteenth-century vaulting shaft, is one of the thirteenth-century shafts of the original doorway to the refectory staircase.

Over the east doorway of the "slype," externally, there are some remains of an inserted dripstone, showing that it led by means of a passage or cloister¹ of some kind, with a lean-to roof, to some building beyond, no doubt the infirmary. This is evidently the reason why the east door of the "slype" is a low one, and the fact that the dripstone was an insertion shows that the passage to the east was not an original work. There are also some

¹ Stones, that may well have belonged to the windows of an early fourteenth-century cloister, have been found, but there is no proof as to where they came from.



LACOCK ABBEY, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



indications of a dripstone over the same roof, in the north wall of the Chapter-house.

In making a drain, a portion of the foundation of a wall of the infirmary was found, in the field, near the present terrace wall, to the east of the day-room. The infirmary appears to have run north and south, as at Burnham, Bucks. (a house of the same Order). There has been no opportunity yet of excavating this foundation. The only piece of worked stone, found there, was a fourteenth-century corbel, but it was not *in situ*.

To return to the building over the south walk of the cloister. I have said above that Sharington raised the whole eastern part to the same height as the western part or chapel, forming a gallery which was lit by six two-light transomed windows of a very peculiar Tudor type, which I think was probably the first work put up by him when he began to convert the Abbey into a dwelling-house. These windows were not opposite each other, but alternating, three on each side. In this gallery was a tile pavement, no doubt that of which many tiles are in my possession, and which has been figured in Mr. Gotch's book.¹ Dingley speaks of it as "a gallery paved with painted Flanders tile with coats of arms," and having "in the windows painted the rebus or device above" (the badge of Queen Jane Seymour) "and other arms" (not specified).

The tiles are not really *painted*, but made in the usual way.

Distinct from, but communicating with, this gallery was the western part, which had been a chapel. Dingley speaks of it as "the passage leading out of the great dining room, towards the matted and stone galleries."² In its north wall were two two-light traceried windows, of the same date as the late fourteenth-century cloister below, retaining mediæval glass, which he describes, one of the figures being St. Augustine, of which he gives a sketch.

¹ *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, by J. Alfred Gotch, F.S.A., Plate ix, p. 38.

² The "matted gallery" appears to be the one just mentioned, and the "stone gallery" still retains that name.

In the south-wall was a two-light window of Sharington's Tudor type, in which, in glass, was the coat of Sharington impaling Farington (the third marriage of Sir William Sharington).¹

In the eighteenth century the passage and gallery were thrown into one, all the windows on the north side were walled up, and all the windows on the south side, four in number,² had their mullions and transoms removed, and the stonework which was left reduced, by working mouldings of the Queen Anne type. This was probably done in the time of George I, and, at any rate, before 1732.³ The manner in which this conversion was effected may be seen, by the example of the south window of the present library. That window was originally a three-light window, of Sharington's Tudor type. It was converted into a sash window by walling up one third of it *flush*, and removing the mullion and transom, altering the mouldings, and cutting down the sill of the remaining part. I unblocked the walled-up portion and set back the blocking, so that the whole transformation can be seen. The original three-light window must have looked well, and was central to the gable which forms the south end of the dormitory.

I have reasons for thinking that the west window of the present library was originally another three-light window, of the same work. Such a window could not readily—as in the case of a four-light—be turned into a double sash window, by removal of stonework, and one sash would not have given light enough. That is why the present window has a wooden central mullion and lintel. The jambs are built up of moulded stones of the

¹ The same coat occurs on the tiles. I have, at present, in glass, in the hall, a fine coat of Sharington impaling Walsingham (the second marriage of Sir W. Sharington).

² The spaces occupied by the four lancet windows of the church were apparently utilised in the original making of these windows.

³ The whole gallery was, I believe, then panelled with deal panelling, as in the case of the library, and a fireplace was then first introduced, in the centre of the north side, which has since been removed.

original window. This is as far as I can trace this very peculiar Tudor work.¹

It must be admitted that the south front of the house, as it was left by Ivory Talbot and as it remained till 1828, must have been bare and unattractive. In that year, the late Mr. Fox Talbot, during whose minority and for some time longer the house had been let, came to reside, and at once began to make considerable alterations.

He took the precaution of having plans and drawings made, in 1827, as a record of the unaltered buildings. These are very useful, but, in some points, are so inaccurate as to make it probable that proper measurements were not always taken.

The plan of the new works was changed, as they were in progress. The gallery was, at first, not widened, but a drawing-room, on open supports, was added, to the south. Its appearance, however, was so unsatisfactory that, before its completion, it was pulled down again, and, about 1832, the eastern part of the gallery was widened by removing the church wall, above the cloister level, and throwing out a projection and large oriel window.

The result of these changes was to make the south front of the house much more generally attractive, and to produce a good room internally. Archæologically, of course, there is a good deal lost, and the proportions of the north wall, externally, are much marred by the raising of the coping, by the insertion of three additional courses of ashlar above the stringcourse, so that the parapet has lost its character.

The dormitory space was divided by Sharrington, containing, at its south end, the room above noticed, now the library. Next to this is a passage, running east and

¹ A very strong reason for thinking that these windows were some of the first work put in by Sharrington is the fact that all the principal windows, to the north of this point, have the marked Italian element, and there seems to be no reason why this window should have differed from its neighbours, unless there had been a difference in date. It may also be noted that *beyond this point* the dormitory wall seems to have been more rebuilt, as there are no traces of the Early English eaves tabling. Sharrington's attainder *must* have caused a temporary suspension of his building operations.

west, with a recessed window at its west end, which has been of three lights, turned into a sash-window in the eighteenth century, and falsely restored, in 1850, as a two-light window.

Beyond this passage, to the north, nearly the whole of the length is occupied by a gallery (known as the Stone Gallery) which has four recessed windows, unfortunately spoiled by being Gothicised in the eighteenth century and having the transoms cut out.¹ This is supposed to have been done under the influence of Mr. Sanderson Miller. This gallery retains a very fine fireplace of the Renaissance, with a pattern incised in the hearthstone and filled with lead.²

On the west side of the gallery, and looking into the cloister court, there has been a very fine room (now divided), which had two four-light windows, of which one has been altered to a double sash window, in the eighteenth century. Half of the other window has been walled up, at the same date, and the other half has since been falsely restored.

Externally, the lower part of the chimney of this room, up to a table supported by consoles, is of the original Renaissance work. On this stood a fine columnar chimney,³ with a pedestal having a space surrounded with strap-work, apparently intended for an inscription which was never cut. This columnar chimney is shown in Buck's view (1732) *in situ*, over the roof of the house. It was taken down by Ivory Talbot, about 1740, and set up in the grounds, in the position which it now occupies. A stone sphinx⁴ was then placed on the top. It stands

¹ At the same time, externally, battlements were substituted for the overhanging eaves and Italian cornice. A small fragment of the latter remains, at the south end.

² Figured in Mr. Gotch's work on the *Early Renaissance in England*, Plate LVII.

³ Figured in Mr. Gotch's work, Plate XXXVI, but there is an accidental omission of the ornament, on the sides of the consoles supporting the shelf. They are shown plain. It is also omitted to be stated that this is a restoration of the chimney, *as it was*, and that the adjoining window is also shown *restored*. The roof also is not indicated.

⁴ This was the work of Benjamin Carter, who was probably the father or some near relation of John Carter, the architect and anti-

close to the present approach to the house, but its proper face is turned away towards the north, as it formed an object, at the end of the vistas of a pleasure-ground in the Dutch taste, on that side, which was made by Ivory Talbot and has since disappeared.

He set up, in its place, an original chimney of the sixteenth century—a very good one—from some demolished part of the house, on a plain pedestal.

Little by little, we made all this out. The chimney being unsafe, I had to rebuild it and accommodate it to a position that it had not originally been intended to occupy. We did not think it wise to attempt to re-instate the columnar chimney. The base-moulding only of its pedestal was reproduced, and, curiously enough, whilst we were considering the matter, two stones were found, supporting the posts of a cowshed, which proved to be the missing link between this moulding and a drip-

quary. John Britton wrote a Memoir of John Carter, which was read to the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1837, but was not printed (*Autobiography of John Britton*, Part II, p. 101). If it had been published, we should probably have known exactly who Benjamin Carter was; but this is what John Carter says, in a most amusing article, entitled "The Pursuit of Architectural Innovation, No. LI," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1802 (vol. lxxii, Part II, p. 727). He is very angry with a "reverend gentleman"—a previous writer, whose communication I have not had the opportunity of seeing—"He" (the cleric) "sports off the most illiberal Philippics on part of a religious arrangement, and raises, by a kind of profane adulation, an alien artist into fame because he was a Frenchman. What Englishman at this day should laud a Frenchman? Why, the reverend scribe has done it. His own countrymen deserve but lukewarm praise, or else he might also have expressed a wish to know who was the sculptor that executed the sphinx, called by him a piece of *masonry*, as well as that of the Frenchman. His name was Benjamin Carter, of Piccadilly. I remember, when I was a boy, to have seen much of the work moulded into shape. I revere the memory of him who gave the form it now bears."

Carter is very severe on the hall, as well he might be, but he is wrong in ascribing it to Batty Langley.

The article is simply signed "An Architect," but, even if Britton had not described him as "the redoubted knight-errant of 'architectural innovation,'" it would be clear, from internal evidence, that John Carter was the writer, as certain archaeological points, in which he is wrong, are the same as those which appear in his notes, from another source, printed by Bowles and Nichols (*Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, p. 347).

stone over the roof below. One of these was in good enough condition to be replaced in its original position, which was accordingly done. The other was copied.

Another room, on the west side of the Stone Gallery (known as the Tapestry Room, being the only one in which tapestry remains—good work of about the time of Charles II, the subjects being mythological) is noticeable, from the fact that its window (a four-light, of the Renaissance) was very ornate and remarkable. Unfortunately, it was falsely restored in 1853, and a correct restoration is now rendered much more difficult, but careful restored drawings have been made of it. It was one of those which had been turned into a double sash window and it was intended to remodel it, according to a prepared drawing. Unfortunately, the precaution of taking down the existing internal wood-casing first and seeing what was behind it was not taken. The work was left to be carried out in the absence of the family. The carpenter, in accordance with a common practice, prepared his new woodwork without making any examination. When he came to put it up, it was found that the original face of the central stone mullion remained and projected too far for the new work to be fixed. Moreover, it was found to be elaborately carved. To write for instructions did not occur to him. The carved face of the mullion, etc., was sawn off carefully, and preserved as a curiosity. The face of the mullion was ornamented with the double *guilloche*, in the sunk part, and in the circle, at the intersection of mullion and transom, was the scorpion badge, delicately carved. Along the head was a single *guilloche*, in the left-hand quarter-circle the letter w, in the right-hand quarter-circle the letter s accidentally reversed, and in the central semicircle the letters w & g (William and Grace).

Some very beautiful consoles have been found, five of which, no doubt, belonged to the head of this window, having been found, together with a small portion of the transom, ornamented with the double *guilloche*, in unblocking an adjacent doorway, to be noticed presently. A sixth may perhaps have belonged to another similar

window, as it was not found with the others, but in cutting a drain in the garden.

In the roof-space of the dormitory, Sharington made a long gallery, lit originally by seven dormer windows, of which only two remain, on the west side, one of which is blocked. Those on the east side were removed in the eighteenth century.

There is a good panelled door, with its original iron-work, remaining at the south end of this gallery, at the foot of a staircase leading to the balustraded walk, on the south wall of the house and, from thence, to the upper room of the tower.

The gallery has a coved plaster cornice, with good moulded woodwork. There is evidence, in two places, of there having been a similar cornice on the floor below, but in general it has been replaced by later work. Ornamental plaster ceilings were probably intended, but no trace of them remains. It is suggested that the walls of this gallery were intended to be hung with tapestry, which is very probable.

From the courtyard may be seen the doorway, above mentioned, in which the ornately-carved consoles were found. It is immediately over the sixteenth-century window, inserted at the west end of the reredorter sub-vault, and is of the same date. Part of the work of the window is an Ionic three-quarter pillar, which has apparently supported a timber-built passage, removed in the eighteenth century, which crossed from this door to a building, pulled down about 1828, which stood against the north wall of the refectory, except at its east end.

The lower part of this building seems to have been monastic. The upper part was of the sixteenth century, and, partly at least, of timber work. Three of Sharington's spiral chimneys were, I regret to say, involved in its demolition.

All that part of the refectory wall against which this building abutted was, on its removal, cased over with a thin facing of stone, and the rest was modernised, but the projection which contained the reader's pulpit still remains, partly utilised for a fireplace in the sixteenth

century and with some indications of the older work internally.

The rest of the buildings, round the courtyard, were built by Sharington *de novo*. They comprised a long stable on the east side, brewhouse, bakehouse, and other offices on the north side, all of excellent and well-finished work. In this part of the building the roofs are *trussed*, so as to avoid all outward thrust, being the earliest instance of this construction, in an English building, known to me.

In rebuilding the upper part of some octagonal chimneys, on the north side of the north building, we found that the stones were keyed together by lead, which had been run in.

At the north-west corner of the court is a building known as the clock-tower, which has undergone a change of plan in its erection. It projects a little to the north of the adjacent building, on the north side of the court, and an examination of its north end shows that it was originally intended to be narrower. There are indications of a north-east buttress, to the west of and earlier than the present one, and of a north window, on the ground floor, central for a buttress in that position. This gave an east wall ranging with the west wall of the adjacent building. Further, there is evidence that this first building was intended to be continued, some way, along the west side of the court, and the first-floor room has some heavy timber-work, which seems to indicate a former lead roof,¹ with a door from the adjacent building leading on to it. This was all altered, either before its completion or shortly afterwards. The width of the north end was increased eastwards. To this increased width the present north window on the first floor is central, therefore it is of the later work. The southward extension of the building was removed,² and an upper story was constructed, supported on the cambered beams

¹ The erection of, or intention of erecting, a lead roof is disputed, but there are certainly features not easy to explain otherwise.

² The indication of a south-west diagonal buttress on the plan is a mistake. There was no such buttress.

which, I think, belonged to a former lead roof. This upper story is of timber, but its north end was probably a stone wall, on the removal of which the coping of the gable below was continued to the centre, at which point a chimney was built, which has lately been removed.

To form the south end, a stone wall was built up, as high as the eaves of the first floor, and, above that point, it was continued in timber,¹ having a doorway for hoisting, in the south end of the upper room. I uncovered the frame of this sixteenth-century doorway, which was concealed by plaster, and introduced a window in the upper part.

After this conversion of the clock-tower, the west side of the court was simply a wall extending southward, as far as a gatehouse of which the arch still remains. This gatehouse is shown in Dingley's view, and had a roof with west and east gables, and a two-light pointed window over the arch.

It is a disputed point whether the date of the gatehouse was just before or just after the Dissolution. The arch is three-centred, or elliptical. Its moulding may be of either date, and, on removing the earth, we found no stops remaining, which might have settled the question.² The hood-moulding, carried over it, is not original and does not come down to the springing of the arch, but is simply the continuation of a stringcourse of about the time of Queen Anne, the gatehouse having been incorporated with the adjoining building to the south, at that time, and the whole faced with roughcast, but it is noticeable that, after this was done, the arch remained in use, for a while, for though it was ultimately closed and a window similar to the rest was inserted beneath it, the wall under the arch has never been rough-casted.

The closing of the arch may be set down to Ivory Talbot, who then made a fresh entrance to the courtyard,

¹ Masonry has been substituted, at some time, for the lower portion of this timber-work.

² There is no difficulty, as regards the ground level, in the way of the gatehouse being a sixteenth-century work. Also, it seems to be set out in the same line with the ground-floor room of the clock tower. It is not shown on the sixteenth-century plan, which, though not conclusive, is a presumption in favour of its not having existed when that plan was made.

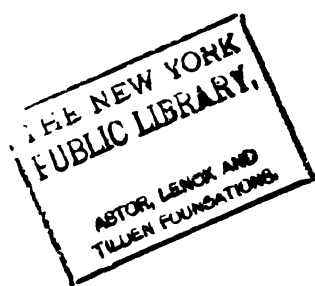
of the type shown in the book of Inigo Jones's designs, viz., great gates with two flanking doorways, one of which—to the north—is now walled up.

I have left my notice of the tower till the last. It was built by Sir William Sharington, and is one of the most conspicuous and beautiful features of the house. It contains three octagonal rooms, of which the lowest has six recesses in the walls, as if for lockers. This room is entered by an external doorway, which is in close proximity to the south door of the sacristy, which was a chapel and is so described on the sixteenth-century plan. *Possibly*, it may have been intended originally to have been used, for some purpose, in connection with such chapel. The room has stone vaulting, with ribs of a plain circular section, springing from the angles without corbels.

The room on the first floor was intended as a strong-room. It is approached, from the adjacent room on the same floor, by a short passage, corbelled out from the walls. The outer door of the passage is of oak, with the original lock and concealed keyhole. Beyond this is the door of the strong-room, plated with iron. There are four windows to this room, still retaining their original bars, on the north-east, east, south and west faces of the octagon, the doorway being in the north face. The north-east window is bricked up internally, which blocking, as it does not affect the external appearance, I have not yet removed. In the south-east, south-west, and north-west faces of the octagon are cupboard recesses, with rebates for doors, which have never been fixed. Over these are stone shelves supported by ornamental consoles, each set being of a different design. In the windows the only Italian features are the consoles, under the heads. In the centre of the room is a very fine stone table (figured in Mr. Gotch's book), on which are the cyphers of Sir William Sharington and his wife Grace and the scorpion badge of Sharington. The stone vaulting is most interesting, being a Renaissance version of fan vaulting, intended to depend for its effect on colour, but left unfinished and never painted at all. In the carving of the vaulting the scorpion badge of Sharington occurs several times, and



LACOCK ABBEY, SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PILLAR OF SUNDIAL.



the unicorn badge of Farington (the wife's family) once. Unfortunately, the vault is constructed with iron, which has fractured the stone, and caused the fall of one of the pendants.

The upper room of the tower is approached, by an external doorway, from the walk on the top of what was the north wall of the church. This room has very thin walls, and, consequently, is much larger internally than the strong-room. It has also a great deal of window space. Here is another fine Renaissance table (figured in Mr. Gotch's book), but much mutilated.

From this room, a turret staircase leads to the lead roof, round which there is a balustrade with remains of carved stone animals, on pedestals, at the angles. These, owing to their exposed situation, are much decayed, as is also the cornice of the parapet.

In the design of the tower, the Gothic element decreases and the Italian element increases as the work rises: a treatment which I have also noticed in the porches of two Wiltshire manor-houses, Stockton and Boyton.

Since the visit of the Association, the sixteenth-century pillar of a sundial (probably the one shown in Dingley's view), which is very well proportioned, has been placed in a better position. The dial, which was formerly on it, cannot, I think, be older than the seventeenth century.

I propose to place upon it a fine dial of the time of George II, which appears to have been made for it, but has never yet been used.

There are many pictures of interest in the house, but only two of them can be noticed here.

A portrait of Henry VIII—always reputed to be by Holbein—was, no doubt, in the possession of Sir William Sharington. Ivory Talbot placed it in a fixed stucco frame, in the dining-room, from which I removed it. The picture, when taken down, appeared to be in a very bad state. It was on the original panel, but Messrs. Dyer and Sons transferred it to canvas, considering that operation to be absolutely necessary. A great deal of detail came out, and there is no reason to doubt that it is Holbein's work, as the picture is a very fine one.

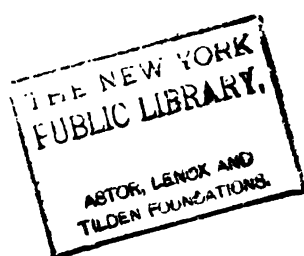
There is also a very fine picture of Sir Gilbert Talbot,

by J. Hales, painted in 1679, the last year of the painter's life. Sir Gilbert Talbot was a cavalier, who had fought for Charles I. In the time of Charles II he was Master of the King's Jewel House, and, in that capacity, brought down the mace which the King gave to the Royal Society, of which he was a Member of the First Council. He was also a contributor towards the cost of rebuilding the Heralds' College, after its destruction by fire, and, as such, had his pedigree recorded in the *Benefactors' Book*, which was produced in evidence in the Shrewsbury Peerage case.

Sir Gilbert died in 1695. In his will, he describes himself as of Lacock. He was not the actual owner of the estate, which belonged to his nephew, Sir John Talbot.

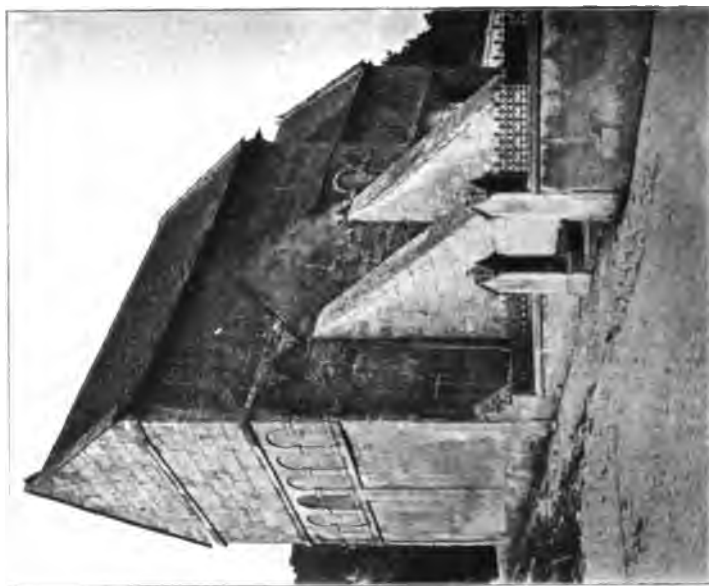
The picture was *named*, about 1800, and wrongly attributed to a much earlier member of the family: a mistake which I had no difficulty in correcting.







SAXON CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.



SAXON CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



THE SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON- AVON.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT. D., F.R. HIST. S., F.R.S.L.
(Contributed to the Bath Congress, 1904.)



THE town of Bradford-on-Avon is one of those of which numerous examples are to be found in our country, which, flourishing in the past, only retains to-day the shadow of its former importance. In the Middle Ages it was the centre of a great sheep-farming district, and, in consequence of the abundance of water (which was then a chief source of power, as it is likely again to become through the modern developments of electricity), and of the special suitability of that water for dyeing purposes, it was, like its neighbour Trowbridge, the seat of the woollen manufactory, and from its looms came those "broadcloths" which made England famous throughout the world. Unlike "Worstead," now a decayed town in Norfolk, and Llanelly, in Wales, from whence our word "flannel" is derived, it did not give its name to any special branch of the industry ; but with the introduction of steam power its glories passed away, and its name lives on in that of its great namesake and rival, Bradford, in Yorkshire, which, by a curious coincidence, is now the seat and centre of the woollen industry in England.

For us, however, it has other interests that take us back to the days of the old West Saxon Kingdom, and the first establishment of Christianity in the realm of Cerdic. This arises from the discovery, some fifty years ago, of the almost perfect remains of the Saxon Church

within whose walls we are now standing. The story reads almost like a romance, and was well told by Prebendary Jones, when the Association last visited Bradford, on the occasion of the Bristol Congress in 1874.¹ At its first discovery, the church was taken to be the very *ecclesiola* which William of Malmesbury tells us was founded by Aldhelm, who was Bishop of Sherborne from 705 to 709, and to be one of the earliest remains of Saxon architecture in England. We know, however, that Bradford was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century; and recent investigation proves, as we shall see, that the present building dates rather from the Restoration under Edgar or Ethelred, in the later years of the tenth century. This does not, however, destroy but rather enhances its interest; for although we may not behold the actual fabric which Aldhelm raised, yet it cannot but maintain its imperishable connection with his name, and the building as it stands still remains a precious example of what our Saxon forefathers could accomplish in the best period of their art, before Norman influences had invaded native inspiration derived from other sources.

Camden visited Bradford in the course of his journeys through England, but his original account of the place is very meagre, consisting only of the following notice: "The Avon waters Bradford—in old time *Bradanford*—(so called from the *Broadford*), which stands on the side of a hill, and is built all of stone, where a bloody battle was fought in the Civil Wars between Kenilwachan, King of the West Saxons, and Cuthred, his kinsman. Here the Avon leaves Wiltshire and enters into Somersetshire, running towards Bath." It will be observed that he makes no mention of its woollen industry, although of its neighbour, Trowbridge, he says: "Now, it is very noted for the clothing trade," so that apparently it must have been declining even in his time. To this meagre notice Bishop Gibson has added: "It was likewise famous in the Saxon times for the monastery built here

¹ *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxi pp. 143-152, and p. 326, where the visit on that occasion is described.

by Aldhelm, and destroyed in the Danish wars ; and also on the account of a Synod probably held here in 964, in which St. Dunstan was elected Bishop of Worcester."¹

Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* tells us that " during the Heptarchy, a battle took place here between Cenwulf, King of the West Saxons, and a formidable party of his own subjects, who had rebelled against him under the command of his kinsman Cuthred, when the latter were defeated with great slaughter. In 706, Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, founded an abbey at this place, which he dedicated to St. Lawrence, and which, after its destruction by the Danes, was rebuilt and converted into a nunnery by Ethelred, who annexed it to a larger establishment of the same kind at Shaftesbury in 1001." It will be seen in the sequel that this is more agreeable to the story which this building, correctly read, tells of itself, than with the theory of " those who, like Professor Freeman, hold that it is the very building erected by Aldhelm."

Before passing on, we may note that Lewis also tells us that " the principal branch of manufacture is that of woollen cloth, which is said by Leland to have flourished in the reign of Henry VIII, particularly that composed of the finer kind of Spanish and Saxony wool, for the dyeing of which the water is particularly favourable. In the 23rd of Edward I Bradford sent members to Parliament, but since that time it has made no return. A small oratory on the south-western side of the bridge, formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Lawrence, has been converted into a place of confinement for offenders."

In any consideration of the date and place in the scheme of Saxon architecture which are to be ascribed to this church, the name and fame of Aldhelm hold a foremost position. We will, therefore, here take some further note of what history has to tell us of this celebrated West-Saxon saint, the contemporary of Bede in the Northumbrian kingdom. Aldhelm, says the Life of him

¹ This may possibly fix the date of the restoration, and if so, makes it all the more interesting by bringing this work into connection with the renowned St. Dunstan himself.

in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "was born about the middle of the seventh century, said to have been son of Kenred, brother to Ina, King of the West Saxons, but William of Malmesbury says his father was only a distant relative. Having received the first part of his education in the school of Meildulf, a learned Irish monk, he travelled in France and Italy. The fame of his learning soon spread not only in England, but in foreign countries . . . He was the first Englishman who wrote in Latin, both in prose and verse . . . King Alfred declared that Aldhelm was the best of all the Saxon poets. He was a musician as well . . . After having governed the monastery of Malmesbury, of which he was the founder, for about thirty years, he was made Bishop of Sherborne, where he died in 709."

This is a very incomplete account, and contains some inaccuracies.

Bede, under the year 705, says; "Upon his (Hedda's, Bishop of the West Saxons) death, the bishopric of that province was divided into two provinces. One of them was given to Daniel (Winchester), and the other to Aldhelm (Sherborne), wherein he most worthily presided four years. Both of them were well instructed, both in ecclesiastical affairs and in the Scriptures. Aldhelm, when he was only a priest and Abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, wrote a notable book against the error of the Britons in not celebrating Easter at the proper time . . . and persuaded many of them, who were subject to the West Saxons, to adopt the Catholic celebration of our Lord's resurrection. He likewise wrote a notable book 'On Virginitv'. . . and some other books, being a man of universal erudition, having an elegant style, and being wonderfully well acquainted with books, both on philosophical and religious subjects."¹

The Saxon Chronicle only mentions Aldhelm under 709, the year of his death, as Bishop on the west of Selwood.

Florence of Worcester, under 675, describes the foundation of Barking monastery by Erconwald, King of the East Saxons, for Ethelburga, his sister, who was the first

¹ Bede, *Book V*, cap. 18.

Abbess, and proceeds : " Hildelith succeeded Ethelburga, and it was to her that Aldhelm addressed his book 'On Virginity'." Under 705, he notes that after the death of Hedda, Bishop of the West Saxons, the bishopric was divided, one diocese being given to Daniel, " the other to Aldhelm, Abbot of the monastery of Maildulf (*vide sup.*), i.e., Malmesbury ;" and under 709 he notes that " St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Wessex, a man of most extensive learning, departed to the Lord."

Benedict Biscop, founder of the monasteries and builder of the churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Bede, were both contemporaries of St. Aldhelm.

It is William of Malmesbury who, in his "Life of St. Aldhelm," connects him with Bradford, for he tells us that the West Saxon Bishop was "generally supposed to have built a monastery at Bradford ; and adds, "To this day (1125) at that place there exists a little church,"¹ which he is said to have built in honour of the blessed St. Lawrence."²

Is this the church within whose walls we are now standing, or is it indeed a later restoration ?

The whole subject of Anglo-Saxon architecture is involved in the answer to this question ; and although I shall not pretend to do more than make use of the researches of another, it will not be without all due gratitude and acknowledgment ; and the further remark that, so far as my own personal observation goes—and it has not been slight—it entirely bears out the conclusions arrived at, as the result of the researches to which I refer. Nothing is more astonishing than the contented ignorance which our fathers displayed on this subject. It was taken for granted that our Saxon ancestors were rude and barbarous, and that in consequence their architecture, of which few, if any, examples were supposed to remain, must have partaken of the same characteristics.

¹ *Ecclesiola*.

² Dr. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, in his *Life of St. Aldhelm*, published by the Christian Knowledge Society, after quoting William of Malmesbury, as above, merely adds in a note :—"This *ecclesiola* is almost certainly still standing at Bradford-on-Avon."

Everyone must have heard of Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, though not many, I imagine, have read it. The author was a learned antiquary—a member of the Society of Antiquaries—and his two 4to. volumes give evidence of painstaking research, as it was understood in his day. His style is full and flowing, modelled on Johnson and Gibbon, and abounding in moral reflections; and he quotes, one might say, almost every author who has ever written on the Saxons up to his time. With this he is content: research at first hand, or a visit to existing monuments, was quite beneath the dignity of a learned *savant* of his day.

This, therefore, is all he has to say about Anglo-Saxon architecture:—"The chief peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon architecture, of which several specimens—though in fragments—exist, are declared to be a want of uniformity of parts: massive columns, semicircular arches, and diagonal mouldings. Of these, the two first are common to all the barbarous architecture of Europe. But the semicircular arches and diagonal mouldings seem to have been more peculiar additions to the Saxon building.

"That the round arches were borrowed from Roman buildings is the prevailing sentiment . . . The universal diagonal ornament, or zigzag moulding, which is a very distinguishing trait of the Saxon architecture, is found disposed in two ways: one with its point projecting outwards, and the other with its point laying so as to follow the lines which circumscribe it."

The erudite author, who has, in the passage preceding the one quoted, stated that "the love of sublimity is more congenial to the rude heroism of infant civilisation, and therefore our architecture often reached to the sublime; but while we admire its vastness, its solidity, and its magnificence, we smile at its irregularities, its discordances, and its caprice," then goes on to connect the diagonal moulding with "fretwork," and suggests that "the teeth which the Saxon diagonals represent are marine teeth. If so, perhaps they arose from the stringing of teeth of the large sea animals."

He next quotes from Bede and William of Malmesbury the description given by them of the church of Paulinus

at York, of the churches built by Benedict Biscop, Cuthbert, and Wilfrid, and of the church at Croyland, without one line to show that he had ever seen one of them for himself, and concludes: "It is supposed that many specimens of ancient Saxon architecture yet remain: a part of St. Peter's at Oxford, part of St. Albans Abbey Church, Tickencote Church, Lincs., the porch on the south side of Shireburn Minster, Barfreston¹ Church, in Kent; Iffley Church, and some others;" and as a matter of fact, not one of these out of the large number of specimens that are now known to remain, except Sherborne and St. Albans, are Saxon at all! (Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii, p. 418).

This was the state of knowledge (or ignorance) in 1805, when his second edition was published; and it was in accordance with these principles that Sir Walter Scott, about the same time, could speak of "Lindisfarne" as Saxon, in the lines quoted in my Paper on the subject.²

It will also be noticed that the whole of "Saxon architecture" is massed together under one view, as though it continued practically the same from the beginning to the end of its five centuries of existence!

Rickman by 1835 had advanced a step further, and in his account of Saxon architecture enumerates twenty examples, all of which are correctly assigned; but he bases his determination of origin almost entirely on the characteristic Saxon arch, although he also mentions the western tower, and the so-called "long and short" work.

It was in 1858 that our Bradford-on-Avon church was discovered, and in the course of the following years it was gradually rescued from the mass of surrounding buildings, the chancel being recognised in what had long been a two-storied cottage. In 1874, Professor Freeman read a Paper before the Somerset Archæological Society, in which he described the building as undoubtedly Aldhelm's, and thus spoke of it: "Our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of Aldhelm, during the reign of King

¹ Barfreston is a very perfect little Norman church.

² *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. lviii, p. 181.

Ina, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the North—at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.”

With this description and ascription, Prebendary Jones signified his agreement in the Paper read before this Association in that same year.

Although the knowledge of Saxon remains has vastly increased during the last thirty years, the general public has had little opportunity as yet of realising what has been accomplished, almost entirely by one zealous and indefatigable observer, in the way of discriminating between the periods within the style, and the possibility arising therefrom of assigning any particular building to its approximately correct date.

In discussing the remains of Lindisfarne Priory, it was my fortune to differ from Mr. Hodges, and to maintain that I cannot see in them any vestiges of Saxon work at all; and in this history bears me out.¹

In the article on Bradford-on-Avon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxvi, p. 334 (1902), the public is again informed that “there is still standing a small church, built about 705, and described by Freeman as ‘the only perfect surviving church of its kind in England, if not in Europe’”; and in the same year the Rev. A. Galton writes, in Barnard’s *Companion to English History (Mediæval)*, of Saxon Architecture, as though it were all of one piece, and could be described under one fixed set of definitions.

It is true that Mr. Reginald Hughes, in *Social England*, Illustrated Edition, vol. i, p. 286, writes of this church: “The church at Bradford may be, perhaps, a later restoration,” though he assigns no reason for his hypothetical “perhaps.”

It was reserved for Professor Baldwin Brown, to whom those who are versed in antiquarian matters will recognise that I have alluded above, to throw a flood of light on the whole subject of Saxon architecture; and to him

¹ Professor Baldwin Brown is inclined to agree with Mr. Hodges that in the apsidal-ended chancel at Lindisfarne, whose foundations were recently discovered, we have the evidence of the Saxon building, on the analogy of Rochester; but he does not hold that the work in any of the existing walls is Saxon, and thus supports me by implication.—*Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, p. 118.

I would here acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude which all students owe for his lucid and admirable exposition. In his book, *The Arts in Early England*, two vols. (Murray, 1903), he has, in my opinion, carried out an investigation and reached conclusions from which no serious student will hereafter be able to differ.

In his first volume he surveys the whole field of the life and manners, the arts and architecture, of our Saxon forefathers, and proves to demonstration that they were neither so rude nor so barbarous as they have been hitherto supposed. He discusses the introduction and the spread of Christianity throughout the country, and shows the place which the *ecclesia*, the *ecclesiola*, and the *capella* held in the life and estimation of the people.

The whole volume is a most admirable example of the value of first-hand research in historical subjects.

In the second volume the author proceeds to discuss the existing remains of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglo-Saxon period in England, and of these he enumerates no less than 350!¹ One hundred and eighty-three of these are shown on the map which accompanies this volume; and it is noticeable that while the majority are to be found within the confines of Northumbria and Mercia, they are fairly evenly distributed over East Anglia and Wessex, and in other parts of the country numerous examples are in existence.²

A close study of these 183 ecclesiastical edifices, each containing more or less of Saxon work, has led him to certain *criteria* by means of which he is enabled to discriminate between three main periods within the style,

¹ Signs of Saxon work are to be found in no less than 350 examples. On the map and in the list given, 183 are marked.—*Op. cit.*, p. 74, etc.

² Saxon architecture proper is confined to England, and is more especially represented in the Eastern and Midland Counties. Examples, if they exist at all, are very infrequent on the Western side of the Pennine chain from Cumberland to the Mersey (Strathclyde), in Stafford and Cheshire, and in Monmouth, Somerset, Dorset and Devon. This may, of course, be explained in great part by the late and gradual Teutonising of the western part of the country; but it is not a little remarkable to find in Shropshire a kind of wedge of Saxon architecture, driven, so to say, into the midst of the "district in whose early ecclesiology Celtic traditions were predominant,"—*Op. cit.*, p. 80.

which may be roughly described as being before, during, and after the Danish incursions. These periods he distinguishes by the letters A, B, and C: A extending from 600 to 800; B from 800 to 950; C from 950 to 1066.

Of these three, the last is again subdivided into c 1, c 2, c 3.

"Of the three building epochs just indicated," says our author, "there is no doubt that the two really prolific ones were the first and the last; for the central or Danish period, though not a wholly barren epoch, certainly cannot have been one of great productiveness."

Accordingly, after the detailed survey of the existing monuments, which takes up the greater part of the book, we find that of the 183 examples enumerated, 14 are assigned to A, 6 to B, 25 to B or C, and the rest to C, in one or other of its subdivisions. Class A includes Jarrow, Wearmouth, Escombe in Durham, as well as the Saxon Cathedral at Medehamsted (Burgh or Peterborough), the foundations of which were discovered and explored not many years ago, by our late lamented member, Mr. Irvine, who was also one the first to exhibit drawings of this church before the Association. But it does not include Bradford-on-Avon, which is placed by our author under class c 1, i.e., between 950 and 1000, which would about bring it to the period when Ethelred, or rather Dunstan, is said to have restored Aldhelm's abbey, both of which we must therefore conclude to have been destroyed by the Danes.

But it is no mere dependance on documents, or the vague statements of chroniclers on which the Professor relies to justify his conclusions; it is the study of the buildings themselves which has enabled him to assign them to their approximate place in the scheme of Saxon architecture, with as sure a hand as that with which Dr. Petrie or Dr. Evans assign the monuments of Egypt, or Canaan, or Knossos, or Mycenæ to their approximate dates.

With regard to the details of building, let us take one instance, that of the *pilaster-strips* which are supposed to be derived from timber-construction.

Professor Baldwin Brown does not deny what Sharon Turner first pointed out, and what his successors have

repeated *ad nauseam*, that the earliest Saxon buildings were of wood,¹ and that consequently their word for "to build" was "*getimbrian*"; so that the Saxon Chronicler can actually say of one who promised to build a church of stone, that he promised "to *getimbrian* a church of stone"; but he proves that these "pilaster-strips" have nothing really to do with "carpenters' masonry," but are derived from other sources altogether. These are to be found in the German "*Lisene*," or slightly-projecting buttress, which is characteristic of the Austrasian province of the Carolingian empire, with which the Anglo-Saxon kings were in close communication—a communication dating from and intensified by the labour of St. Boniface and other Saxon missionaries on the Continent.² So, too, he shows that the characteristic western tower is also derived from Austrasian sources.

This is not the time or place to discuss further the reasons for his conclusions, but I think he has given amply sufficient proofs for his contentions.

The "long-and-short" quoins, which have also been said to be derived from original wooden buildings, and to be "carpenter's masonry," are an absolutely special charac-

¹ So were some of the latest. Greenstead, in Essex, comes under period C 3; but there was a special reason for its construction. This structure belongs to the blockhouse, not to the half-timber system of construction, and its date is recorded, viz., 1013.—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 139; see *Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, p. 40.

² The buttress, a marked feature of Norman Romanesque, hardly occurs in the Romanesque of Germany, where its place is taken by the so-called "*Lisene*," a feature with some superficial resemblance to the buttress, but differing therefrom in that it serves a decorative rather than a constructive purpose. . . .

The buttress in Early Norman buildings (as in the west wall at Northborough) is of slight projection, but it adds real strength to the building—the "*Lisene*" does not. Moreover, these latter are more closely disposed along the wall surfaces.

It has been noticed about these German "*Lisenen*," as about our Anglo-Saxon "pilaster-strips," that they look like the uprights of half-timber work. We are fortunate, however, in being able to trace back the history of the features in German buildings, till we find it originating, not in any form of wood-construction, but in the classical pilaster that is so familiar a feature in later Roman architecture.

The Carolingian Gatehouse at Lorsch, near Worms, and Gernrode, in the Hartz Mountains, are examples.—*Op. cit.*, p. 58.

teristic of Saxon work, and are never used in Norman work, or indeed anywhere on the Continent. Examples occur of long-and-short *pilasters*, in Austrasia, as at St. Pantaleon, Cologne, which may be compared with Breamore, Hants.¹

Long-and-short *quoins* are unknown out of Saxon England.²

Let us now examine the characteristic features of this building.³ These are—(1) the remaining *porticus* on the north side, and the strong presumption that there was originally, as Mr. Irvine was convinced, a corresponding *porticus* on the south side. These were known as “*alae*,” but have more in common with the later transepts than with aisles. In neither of them is the door in the centre, the reason of which was to provide space for an altar against the eastern wall;⁴ (2) the pilasters and arcading on the surface of the exterior walls of the nave and chancel, which, although an added ornamentation to

¹ “So soon as the disastrous and terrifying Danish inroads had become the predominant feature of the time, the art of building must have received a check; for though a church ruined by a Viking raid would, as a general rule, be rebuilt, yet as such raids were often repeated there was no encouragement for display or elaboration in any new or renovated fabric. Notwithstanding this, the art of building during the second—or Danish—period was certainly not at a standstill, for the development of the special Saxon peculiarity of the long and short quoins must fall within this time. It derives its origin from some of the earliest work, and it is in normal use in the latest period, so that its evolution must fall in the intermediate epoch. It is not easy, however, to identify long-and-short quoins in the making, so to say, for this special arrangement of pieces may occur accidentally in quoins that are not intended to be of this particular character. A more minute examination of our Saxon buildings may reveal evidence of the gradual formation of their characteristic features, but such “Transitional” forms are at present difficult to identify. The quoin at St. Mildred’s, Canterbury, which is very unevenly arranged, may be regarded by some as Transitional, and the quoins at Sockburn, Durham, when compared with Escomb, carry the same suggestion.”—*Op. cit.*, p. 297.

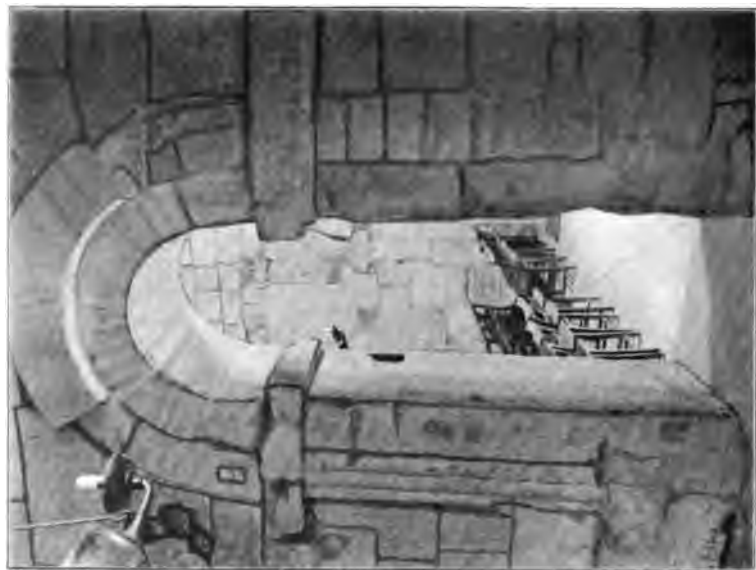
² *Op. cit.*, p. 87 *seq.*, and p. 89.

³ A detailed description is given in Professor Baldwin Brown’s *The Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, pp. 131-139.

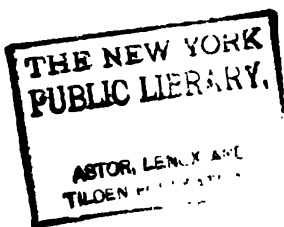
⁴ “The characteristic narrow Saxon doorway at Bradford-on-Avon is rather late than early.”—*Op. cit.*, p. 297.



EAST WALL OF NAVE, SHOWING NARROW DOOR-LIKE ARCH
TO CHANCEL.



INNER DOOR, NORTH PORCH, OPENING INTO NAVE.





SAXON CHURCH, NORTH PORCH.



the completed building, are yet part of the original design which the building was intended to exhibit. The stones were cut after they were placed in position, but the architect or master-builder *intended* the church to exhibit the appearance which it actually does. It is a portion of the original scheme, not an afterthought; (3) the extremely low and small chancel arch;¹ and (4) the angel figures bearing scrolls, which may be considered by themselves. We also note that the nave is as high as it is long, and nearly twice as high as it is broad.²

If we ask ourselves now what are the characteristic features of churches belonging to Class A, *i.e.*, churches which may be undoubtedly assigned to the period 600 to 800, from the fact that, as in the case of Jarrow and Wearmouth, we know from contemporary evidence that they were built in that period, the question is not as easy of answer as might at first sight be thought; because, as our author says, there is no use in arguing in a circle, and saying, for example, that x is early because y is not to be found in it; or y late because it does not appear in x; but there are certain broad features which help us to a decision.³

¹ "It is a characteristic of English architecture through the whole mediæval period, that even in edifices of great importance vault-construction is rather avoided than favoured; as an example of this we may take Durham. Among all the numerous specimens of pre-Conquest architecture there is only one that exhibits a vault in any other position than as a crypt. In arch construction there is the same deficiency, for though there are well-constructed Saxon arches—Barnack, Worth, Wittering—yet as a rule the openings of Saxon doorways and chancel and tower arches tend to narrowness, and at Bradford-on-Avon the chancel-arch is only 3 ft. 6 in. in width, and one of the principal doorways a little over 2 ft.; while we find again and again examples of faultily-cut voussours (*e.g.*, the tower-arch at Bosham), which shows that the elementary principle of the radiating joint was by no means universally apprehended among Saxon builders."—*Op. cit.*, p. 127.

² A very good general view of this Church will be found in this volume of the *Journal*, p. 56.

³ "Bradford-on-Avon appears in general character a singularly early church, but when we observe its double-splayed windows, reckon up its pilaster-strips, and note the curious resemblance of its external arcading to that in the interior of the very late Saxon church at Dunham Magna in Norfolk, we begin to distrust the impression of great antiquity."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74.

The characteristics of Class A, *e.g.*, St. Martin and St. Pancras, Canterbury; Rochester, Lyminge, Reculver, Brixworth, Ripon and Hexham crypts, Escomb, Monkwearmouth, and Jarrow, are thus described by Professor Baldwin Brown :—

“All these have this in common—and Bradford-on-Avon is outside the group—that they are distinguished by the absence of certain features, which are common in Anglo-Saxon churches generally. We do not find in them long-and-short quoins, double windows with midwall shafts, double-splayed lights, pilaster-strips, strip-work surrounding openings, or plinths; nor, we may add, internally-splayed loops of a tall, narrow form.

“The features mentioned were introduced about the tenth century, at the epoch when most of them were coming into use in post-Carolingian Germany . . . Will anyone now maintain the theory that the Saxon pilaster-strips are copied from half-timbered work, and are not rather connected with the German *Lisenen*;¹ or that Saxon towers, more than 80 per cent. of which are western towers, are derived from Italy, where the western tower is almost unknown; or that the windows were fetched by a long journey from Italy, when we could have found them, and found them, too, in *western* towers, just across the North Sea? Are we to claim double-splayed windows as our native invention, or credit them to Italy or Gaul, where they are hardly found, when we know that they were in abundant use in post-Carolingian Austrasia, and were there employed just as they were employed in

¹ Yet we read :—“Still more characteristic are the long, narrow, lath- or pilaster-like strips of stone joined by arches or straight braces, with which the walls are decorated, which are unmistakably taken from wooden originals” (*Social England*, vol. i, p. 288, 1900). And another, but still erroneous, idea is put forth by Messrs. Banister Fletcher, in their *History of Architecture*, p. 229, where they say :—“The masonry work is considered by some to show the influence of wood architecture, as in the ‘long-and-short’ work, the triangular openings, and baluster mullion; but these features are rather rude attempts to copy the contemporary Romanesque work of Ravenna and other Italian towns.”

England, in constant association with the other features mentioned above ?¹

"We thus obtain a useful line of demarcation between late and early Saxon buildings. Those in which appear the features just discussed are comparatively late ; while absence of those features, combined with positive indications of early date, suffice for the attribution of an example of the pre-Danish epoch."

Once more, we notice the great height of the nave walls at Bradford. "This is a peculiarity found neither in the basilicas of Romanesque lands, nor in the Celtic oratories, but came into vogue in parts of the Continent, as well as in England, in the times of unrest and danger which fell upon Christendom when the Vikings forced their keels up the rivers of Western and Central Europe. Lofty walls and small apertures high up in them were a means of protection against raiders."

This is the explanation of this feature at Monkwearmouth, which otherwise belongs undoubtedly to Class A, and suggests a re-building of Benedict's original structure before 867. Thus the height of the walls, apart from every other consideration, is against an early date.

The rectangular chancel, whether it be a natural growth or an importation from Ireland, is no criterion of date or period, as it occurs equally in early Escomb and in late Repton and Boarhurst. We see it here, and taking the comparatively few Saxon churches of which the eastern termination is assured, we can count a score of square ends to set against ten apses, and probably the square-ended chancels outnumbered the apsidal one many times over.²

¹ "Double-splayed windows are of Austrasian origin, *e.g.*, the Rotunda at Fulda, 820; Niedercell, still earlier ; St. Pantaleon, Cologne, 980."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 63-65. Yet the double-splayed window—a distinctly non-Norman feature—occurs in what must be Norman work on the west side of the cloisters at Norwich.—p. 82, and *vide* p. 331 :—"The percentage of such survivals is probably greatest in the East-
Anglian region."

² "The *ten* Saxon apsidal-ended chancels are : Lyminge, Reculver, St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Deerhurst, and Worth—semi-circular ; Rochester, Lindisfarne and probably St. Pancras—semi-elliptical ; Brixworth,

Lastly, there is the *porticus*, which again is no criterion of date taken by itself; for we find it at St. Pancras, Canterbury; it is mentioned by Bede; and the word is used indifferently for "porch" and "aisle," *e.g.*, Dunstan is said by William of Malmesbury to have added "*alae vel porticus*" to the church at Glastonbury, and there it is evidently "aisles."¹

rounded internally, but exterior polygonal; Wing polygonal, inside and out."—*Op. cit.*, p. 118.

"The apse, derived from Celtic originals, remains throughout the whole history of ecclesiastical architecture, and is to-day the normal form for the chapels of mansions or institutions."—*Ib.*, p. 279.

"The *twenty* square-ended chancels are: Barton-on-Humber, Barrow, Boarhurst, Bradford-on-Avon, Breamore, North Burcombe, Coln Rogers, Daylingworth, Deerhurst Chapel, Dover, Escomb, Heysham Chapel, Kirk Hammerton, Repton, Sidbury, Tichborne, Wareham, Weybourn, Whitfield, Wittering."—*Ib.*, p. 281.

¹ It may here be observed that Anglo-Saxon architecture derives from two main sources, viz.:—(a) Roman, (b) Celtic.

(a) "Roman" does not necessarily mean Italian, but may be derived from Gaul, Spain, and Africa. From *this* source are derived the "*baluster*" shafts, viz., those having the appearance of being "turned in a lathe." Cf. Chollerton and Jarrow.—*Op. cit.*, p. 9.

(b) To the Celtic influence must be ascribed the *sloping doors and jambs*.—Glendalough is the original of these features at Escomb and Brigstock.

The influence of *timber-work* is discussed, *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 to 42, and the author's conclusion is:—"On the whole, then, we must negative the hypothesis that either Danish or earlier Saxon timber technique supplied models for Saxon stone architecture."

The influence of *Austrasia* (*i.e.*, Germany) was predominant, although Alcuin settled at Tours, the capital of Neustria, as Boniface did at Metz, and Willibrod at Aachen, and was political as well as religious.—*Op. cit.*, p. 46; this is shown first, *inter alia*, by the fact that whereas Benedict Biscop, 680, sent for workers in glass to Gaul, Outhbert of Jarrow, in 790, sent for experts to his countryman, Lul, at Mainz on Rhine.—*Op. cit.*, p. 45; next, by the predominance in buildings of Class c of *Herring-bone work*; of the addition of *Western Towers*: "Save in England alone, we do not find this treatment of western ends in vogue in any of the other districts of Romanesque architecture"; of *Pilaster-strips* (*Lisenen*) and *long-and-short quoins*, though this latter is *native*; of *double openings* with midwall shafts, as at Trier; of *double-splayed windows*, as also at Trier. "In this double-splayed window we can see another peculiarity of the Eastern province, for Norman architecture is innocent of it." But it *survived* into Norman work in East Anglia.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 331.

When, therefore, we examine Bradford and other churches of the period to which we have assigned it, we find that it possesses features which those churches that belong to Class A have not, and that it *has not* what those have. The church which corresponds most closely with Bradford in the matter of the arcading, though this is external, and that is internal, is undoubtedly Dunham Magna, in Norfolk, where the internal arcading shows a remarkable likeness to the external arcading on the chancel at Bradford, but it is more elaborate and comparatively later. There is a "pilaster-strip" at Dunham, which corresponds with the similar work here.¹

Taking thus the *details*, the *technique*, the *plan*, and the *proportions* of this church into consideration, singly and together, and comparing it with the examples of Saxon architecture whose position in the scheme is approximately fixed in accordance with the principles hereinbefore described and explained, we shall come to the conclusion that Professor Baldwin Brown is not very far from right in assigning it to Class c 1 in his list, *i.e.*, to between the years 950 and 1000 A.D.; and it may very possibly fall within the great period of church building and restoration which belongs to the reign of Edgar (959 to 975), rather than be assigned to that of Ethelred.

It is one of the most interesting monuments of its time, and the interest is enhanced not only by the fact of its forming another important link in the chain which helps us to place the buildings left to us by our Saxon ancestors in an assured order of succession, but also by the fact of its marvellous and yet unintentional preservation to our own day, and its still more marvellous discovery, and re-instatement!

The two figures of angels referred to above are not, needless to say, in their original positions. They were discovered embedded in the wall above the chancel-arch during the restoration of the building, and placed where they are now to be seen. They seem to have formed part of a lost group: a figure of the Crucified in the centre;

¹ "Dunham Magna has external "pilaster-strips" that start and end with a step-like finish that reminds us of the similar feature at Bradford-on-Avon."—*Op. cit.*, 225.

and the figures themselves, with the scrolls they bear, have a remarkable resemblance to drawings in the *Benedictional* of St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, 963-984, which brings them into line as belonging to the period when the church of Aldhelm was rebuilt, viz., the time of Edgar or Ethelred. The book is now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.

It was during the intermediate or Danish period that that connection with Germany was established which is so important in its influence on art in England.¹ The special features on which the suggestion of this kinship is founded did not, however, come into vogue in Germany before about the tenth century; and their introduction into English work may be due to the marked activity in church-building and restoration that signalised the reign of Edgar (959-975 A.D.).

The most intelligible theory of the architecture of this epoch seems to be that when the new activity began, the English builders of the time found themselves rather at a loss for features which should give an architectural character to their fabrics, and were glad to adopt the pilaster-strips of their neighbours across the North Sea.

To sum up, we ask: Is it now possible to hold, with Sharon Turner and some later writers, that the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons was rude and barbarous?

Rather must we say that, to judge by surviving examples, the Saxon village church of stone, though architecturally plain, was a building not far below the average size and pretension of a village church of the later mediæval period. Could we restore in thought the earlier monuments which have perished, our estimate of Saxon buildings might still be a higher one.

The Saxon builder uses big material whenever he can procure it. He possesses his own stock of forms, and in consequence his work, when any details are present, is as

¹ On the connection between England and Germany, Bishop Stubbs says: "The foreign relations of England during the tenth and eleventh centuries ought to be explored. There is no reason to suppose that the invasion of the Danes interrupted the intercourse with Germany, as maintained by Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, and Edgar."—Stubbs' *Introductions to the Rolls Series*, Hassall, p. 34.

a rule easily recognised by its distinction from the Norman which followed it. Finally, the Saxon designer is, beyond question, a man of some initiative: a seeker—or perhaps only a groping—after architectural effect, and work like the enrichment of the wall-surfaces here at Bradford, or at Earl's Barton, or on the nave at Geddington, is carefully schemed, though in parts quite ungrammatical.

The architecture thus produced had not consistency and method enough to constitute, in the technical sense, a style, but there were in it qualities which might have been worked out under favourable conditions into a style: It constituted a province of Austrasian Romanesque, but it was an autonomous province, whose *alumni* dealt with the common stock of forms in independent fashion, and held with tenacity to certain peculiarities which were their own.

Saxon England stood outside the general development of European architecture, but the fact gives it none the less of interest in our eyes.¹

These are the conclusions of Professor Baldwin Brown, and, for the present at least, I think he has said the last word on the subject.

In pursuing the study of Saxon architecture as a whole, as we have done, we may seem to have wandered far from the more definite study of this little monument of Saxon workmanship at Bradford in particular; but we have not done so, if we have been led thereby clearly to understand the reasons which compel us to disagree with Professor Freeman and those who saw in it the work of

¹ "Anglo-Saxon architecture thus forms an autonomous province of Austrasian Romanesque, i.e., it belongs to the German rather than to the French connection. In many of its characteristics it is *directly* opposed to the Norman work which was destined to supersede it. It has, at the same time, its own individual features: some due to inheritance from the first period of conversion, others of its own evolving; and these it employs side by side with those for which foreign prototypes, or, at any rate, foreign parallels can be found. The debt of our pre-Conquest builders to the lands across the North Sea may be freely acknowledged; while at the same time full justice is done to the substantial amount of originality and boldness in our native productions."—*Op. cit.*, p 69.

St. Aldhelm's own time; and to agree with those who, like Professor Baldwin Brown, see in it a most valuable and precious memorial of the great period of church restoration under Edward, Edgar, and Ethelred — the period included between the dates 950 to 1000 A.D., which was coincident with the activity of the greatest genius of Saxon times, the foremost ecclesiastic and statesman of his day, St. Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

¹ See Bishop Stubbs' appreciation of St. Dunstan, in his Introduction to the "Memorials of St. Dunstan," in the *Introductions to the Rolls Series* (Hassall, pp. 1-34).





THE BOY BISHOP (*EPISCOPUS PUERORUM*) OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND. U

BY THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

(Continued from page 48.)

PART II.



HE Camden Society published in 1875¹ one of the sermons to which the boys of St. Paul's School listened. No one can read this discourse without being impressed with the manifest desire on the part of those responsible for its preparation to further and develop all that is noblest in a child's life, but the fashion of it is not at all agreeable to the mind of the times in which we live. The wish to induce order and inculcate reverence is a conspicuous feature, but it is strangely enforced. This particular sermon was probably written by one of the almoners of St. Paul's, and presented by the chorister who had been elected to the office of Boy Bishop.² The title is in two lines, viz. :

IN DIE INNOCENCII SERMO PRO
EPISCOPO PUERORUM.

The allusion in "the bidding prayer" of the sermon to "the ryghte reverende fader and worshypfull lorde *my*

¹ Two sermons preached by the Boy Bishop (i) at St. Paul's, *temp.* Henry VIII, and (ii) at Gloucester, *temp.* Queen Mary. Edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.; together with an Introduction, giving an account of the Festival of the Boy Bishop, by Edward F. Rimbault, LL.D.

² It was originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde before 1496. At the end of the print are two Indulgences of Pope John XXII.

broder Bysshopp of London your dyocesan, also my worshipfull *broder* the Deane of this Cathedral Church," is very quaint as proceeding from the lips of a child chorister, but is indicative of the spirit in which the festival and the whole of its proceedings was conceived.

The other Boy Bishop's sermon,¹ written by one Richard Ramsey, was "pronounced by John Stubs, Querester, on Childermas-day at Gloceter, 1558" (*temp.* Queen Mary), the text being: "Except yow will be convertyd and made lyke unto lytill children," etc. The writer, speaking specially to "the queresters and childer of the Song School," says: "Yt is not so long sens I was one of them myself"; and he alludes in very quaint language to defects in conduct, and the like, the behaviour of the choristers being "as it were in ther schole, ther master beyng absent, and not in the Church, God being present." The one "sett in the mydes," he puts forward for an example, yet "loke in his face and you wold think that butter would not melt in his mouth; but as smooth as he lokes, I will not wyshe you to folow hym if you know as much as I do." It is pathetic to find this child of song contrasting his "hye dygnyte" with the hard discipline to which, as an ordinary chorister, he in common with his fellows was subject. The admonition not to "pluk from the littel ones" what of right they ought to possess, is, in the light of the subsequent history of cathedral choristers, and their relation to the Chapter governing the church, at once a stern reproof and a solemn admonition. The pity is that it became necessary to utter it, and that the echo of the same wail has not yet wholly ceased to be justified, although in diminished volume as the years have rolled on. The actual experience of the chorister who in this sermon gives expression to what appears to be a deep-rooted feeling of pain at the scant justice meted out to the boys of the cathedral song-school convinces me that the boy himself had some hand in its compilation. The great Erasmus, who for several years was a chorister in the Cathedral of Utrecht, had a fellow-feeling which he saw

¹ Cotton MSS., *Vespasian*, A., xxv, 173-179.

no reason to stifle. It is important to recognise not only his sympathy with the choristers (who do well to cherish his memory), but also his apparent approval of the institution of the Boy Bishop. Erasmus certainly did not esteem it "an idle farce."¹

The allusions in the sermon to the special observance are particularly interesting :

" . . . for the honor of these blessyd Innocentes and innocent childer which are remembryd in the Church this day ; which day, as it is comynly termed Childermas-day, so is it celebrate and solemnysd by the preferment of childer in all great Cathedral Churches which gyve the childer the prerogative this day above men, in token that the innocent childer which shed their bloud for the person of the most pure innocent child Jesus had a prerogative above all men in their kind of martyrdom . . . Why am I set up in this place ? "

Turning from exhortation addressed to elders, the boy continues :

" Now for you childer, both boys and wenches," etc., etc.

Very soundly does this child of song reprove parents for the lack of responsibility evidenced by them, clearly no less a cause of anxiety then as now. The reflections on the Protestant martyrs are strange. In respect of their patient sufferings they are said to have lacked " the commendacion of innocency." The practice of the reading of the Martiloge at St. Paul's by the choristers there is casually mentioned.² Also a request is made for prayer for the departed, to the end that "soules lyenge in the paynes of Purgatory" may be delivered. School discipline is touched upon, as when the Master "wrygeth (the child) by the eares," etc., etc.³

At St. Paul's the Canons made over to the boys the

¹ Vide *Concio de puero Jesu*, spoken by a boy of St. Paul's.

² Besides reading in Chapter, the choristers frequently read the liturgical lessons, etc., vested in surplice ; likewise sundry notices, adding at the close, "Sirs, bid a blessing." A list of duties would also be given out.

³ The ancient church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli is the scene of a festival, during which children are privileged to preach sermons prepared for their use. Outside the church there is considerable exuberance, especially on the part of the children.

offerings given at Childermas. The Boy Bishop on Holy Innocents' Day gave the feast, as recorded in Pounteney's *Register*, where five of the choristers are mentioned by name.

At Lincoln, a boy (he was thurifer) was deputed at the close of Prime to read from the Martiloge in the Chapter-house, and in various ways exercised important functions. Similarly at Salisbury, the Grail was sung in the pulpit by the boys. The exercise of such offices as these enable us to appreciate the call of a boy in cathedral churches to the highest vocation, though it were a fancied dignity only. A kind of revival of this occurred recently at a carol service at St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark, after a novel fashion. Between each carol a lesson was read, the first by a chorister, the next by a lay clerk, then by a lay reader, a deacon, a priest, a canon, and a bishop. The Bishop of the diocese pronounced a blessing after each carol.

It was at Lincoln that the reforming spirit of Bishop Grosseteste was stirred to bring about the suppression of the Boy Bishop ceremonies; but, it would seem, solely owing to the riot and unseemliness which marked the proceedings when ill-governed.

The choristers of Lincoln had the rectory of Irby All-Saints at one time appropriated to themselves, but this ancient use appears to be now honoured only in the breach. The Dean and Chapter exercise the patronage.¹

The solemnity was observed at Durham by "the Clerks of St. Nicholas," the youths studying in the Cloister. The different cells contributed to the cost of the boy's sumptuous robes. The profits derived from payments by spectators were applied to the alms-houses of the Priory. In the Rolls after 1391, the Clerks of St. Nicholas are no longer mentioned, but "the Boy Bishop of the Alms-house" remains. For this festivity the barons of the bishopric are said to have forsaken the hawk and the hound, "leaving even their very reason at home!"

The custom may be traced at Exeter, where the festival began on the Eve of Childermas, and lasted till the Second

¹ As to the gathering of procurations by boys at Childermas, see Camden Society *Miscellany*, vol. vii.

Vespers, the boys taking the parts of chanters and canons, chaplains and cross-bearers, while the Residentiary Canons bore the censers and the vicars the tapers, the Dean and Canons preceding them in procession from the west door into the choir.¹ At Lichfield and Chichester, after Vespers at Childermas, the choristers, arrayed in their costume, called at the houses of residents in the Close, where money, sweetmeats, etc., were given. This latter custom has obtained to a greater or less extent among all cathedral boys, until very recent times; and, in some form or another, probably in several places exists still.

At Norwich it was customary, certainly as late as the time of Dean Pellew, for the choristers, wearing their sleeved gowns of fine purple cloth, to dine and play at the Deanery on or about Holy Innocents' Day. After Cathedral evensong, at four o'clock, the boys returned to the Deanery, where they were allowed well-nigh every indulgence, and, towards the close of the evening, a distribution was made by the Dean himself to the boys, according to seniority, of wine and cake. This I have always understood to be a very old custom, shorn however of much of its significance. At the same church distribution was made to the choristers about the same time, of money rewards, generally regarded as gratuities to the boys, in lieu of the joys that proceeded from a season when they were wont to make merry in the Childermas observance.²

The fourteen boys at Norwich originally had seats in the Chapter-house at the daily meeting of the convent in Chapter, a remarkable evidence of their high vocation and recognised status.³

¹ At Exeter, as well as at other Cathedrals, the Bishop being celebrant, at the conclusion of the service, the choristers were accustomed to range themselves in two lines to await his blessing as he passed through their ranks. This degenerated into the boys "making their bow," while they obtained no blessing!

² It is interesting to learn, on the authority of Blomefield, that the Cathedral choristers at Norwich were accustomed on St. Nicholas' Day to hear high mass in the Chapel of Saint William-in-the-Wood, the Boy Martyr.

³ In 1520 the number of boys had fallen to *eight*, and this is still the actual number of those on the foundation.

Both at Norwich and Ely residence-money was paid by the Canons to the choristers, and, probably in some curtailed fashion, is so still. It was always understood—certainly at Norwich—that the boys could demand this payment as a matter of right, and, as each month of residence came to a close, the senior choirster approached the Canon for the customary guinea, which was always forthcoming with more or less good grace. It is (or was) a custom of remote antiquity, an instance probably of the fealty and deference paid to the Boy Bishop and his companions by the Canons when, for the nonce, they were subject to a child's rule.¹ Certain it is, that at Norwich sums of money were annually paid to the Boy Bishop and his clerks on St. Nicholas Day, by all the officers of the Cathedral Church. The Almoner defrayed out of his revenues the expenses of the feast (wine, etc.), when the boys went in procession on St. Nicholas' Day to St. Leonard's, and heard mass there.²

Pro vino conventui in die Sc'i Nichi	xs.
Pro proventibus	vij s.
In victualibus empt. cum aliis expensis pro Episcopo puerorum in Festo Sc'i Nichi	vij s.

The *Infirmarius* paid to the Boy Bishop and his clerks, *ij d.*, and the gardeners, *ij d.*

At Ipswich we learn from Foxe³ that the Master of the Grammar School was wont to lead the Boy Bishop through the streets "for apples and belly-cheer: and whoso would not receive him, he made them heretics, and such also as would not give his faggot to the bonfire for Queen Mary's child.⁴ And thus continued he at Ipswich the most part of Queen Mary's days."⁵ It was by an

¹ A systematic search among the little-known Sacrist's Rolls in the Treasury of the Cathedral Church would probably supply much interesting information in this direction.

² *Almoners' Accounts*, 3 Rich. II.

³ *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii, p. 282 (Pratt's Edition). Additional information relating to the Boy Bishop in East Anglia may be seen in *The East Anglian*, vol. i, N. S., pp. 169-172.

⁴ A term which originated in the revival under Queen Mary of the Boy Bishop observance.

⁵ Strype's *Eccles. Memorials* may be consulted in reference to the revival under Queen Mary of the Boy Bishop custom.

Edict issued in 1554 (November 13th) by Bishop Bonner, of London, apparently to the great joy of the people, that the custom was restored. Strype¹ tells us that the Boy Bishop, *in pontificalibus*, went through most parts of London "after the former fashion" in 1556, so that "St. Nicholas yet goeth about the City," became a current phrase. Queen Mary showed her attachment to the custom by receiving the Boy Bishop in her private apartments. Why it was ordered (December 5th, 1554) that St. Nicholas should *not* go about, whether owing to Convocation meeting that same day, or merely dictated by simple prudence, is uncertain.

The subject of the Boy Bishop has a very distinct bearing upon the *status* of Cathedral choristers, who have always occupied a place on the foundation,² being esteemed highly, not only for the sake of their office, but because childhood has a dignity peculiarly its own, which the Boy Bishop custom emphasized.

As early as the sixth century, there were schools instituted for the special training of choristers, and they continued to be so maintained in connection with the religious houses, forming, in fact, the earliest schools for boys. It seems to have been customary, as late as the seventeenth century, for schools dedicated to St. Gregory the Great to allow one of the boys to personate the Pope, while others represented Cardinals.

From the ranks of the singing boys the Church selected the meetest of her clerks; proficient in the art of song and apt in the rule of divine service, who so worthy of advancement to the higher vocation? Thus the election of the Boy Bishop was a generous encouragement to a high and honourable ambition. The governing bodies of Cathedral churches would have acted well and wisely had they, by the establishment of some institution having a like end in view, replaced so laudable a custom, retaining their

¹ *Memorials*, vol. iii, pp. 202, 205, 206, 310.

² This arrangement is being tampered with so far as it relates to the lower ministers of Cathedral churches; but the lopping of the smaller branches may eventually furnish a precedent for cutting down the tree! The Cathedral Statutes include a Chapter "*De Statu Choristarum*," which is as binding as any in the collection, or ought to be.

choristers for the service of the Church, instead of sending them adrift, utterly regardless of their future well-being, as soon as the child's voice had departed. The Church would have reaped its reward by an addition to the ranks of its clergy of a body of men peculiarly fitted for her continuous service, while the members of the Cathedral Chapter would have had some satisfaction in feeling that for themselves, if not for their predecessors in office, one of the most important of the many obligations resting upon them had been in some degree at least fulfilled. The writer of Symons' *Lesson of Wisdom for Children* is seen encouraging children to be diligent in their lessons, thus—

“ And lerne as faste as thou can,
For our byshop is an old man ;
And therfor thou must lerne faste,
If thou wilt be byshop when he is past.”

The Statutes of King's College (St. Mary and St. Nicholas), Cambridge, promulgated in the reign of Henry VI, sanction the election of a Boy Bishop by the choristers, who might, on the feast of St. Nicholas, perform the divine offices, Mass only excepted. There was a similar regulation at Eton. Brand (*Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 426, ed. Bohn) states that he had traced the custom (*inter alia*) at Colchester, but of this I can learn nothing. Among other places that may be noted are Hyde Abbey, St. Peter-per-Mountergate (Norwich), St. Mary's (Nottingham), etc., etc.

The York records give the names of several Boy Bishops, and the date of the confirmation of their appointments during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By an order of the Chapter after A.D. 1366, the senior chorister was chosen to be Boy Bishop, possibly owing to the fact of some disagreement among the boys. Jealousy was not unlikely to arise when so enviable a position was at the disposal of the youths themselves.¹ The York accounts point to a large balance as the result of the Boy Bishop's gatherings, which fell to him. In certain instances, it would appear that the sum remaining was

¹ At Noyon, in France, two rival Bishops were elected, which led to serious disputation.

utilised to defray the expenses of choristers aspiring to the priesthood, and it is very important to note this aspect of the observance.

At Ripon, an interesting vestige of the Childermas festivities remained until recent times, the choristers of that church distributing apples (with a sprig of rosemary stuck in each) to the congregation assembled for service, from whom the boys received small gifts of money in return.¹

In the statutes of his college of Ottery St. Mary, Bishop Grandison expressly directed that the boys in their celebration were not to wander beyond the parish on the Feast of the Holy Innocents. This order doubtless points to some occasion of the customary circuit outside the parish being abused, which necessitated curtailment. This was the season of roaming about, "gadding about with St. Nicholas clerks," is Foxe's phrase; and it quite brings to mind the proverbial dangers of the streets, accelerated by the conditions under which our forefathers lived.

From the Issue roll of the Exchequer (Michaelmas, 35 Hen. VI), I extract the following relating to St. Stephen's Chapel:

25 Oct. Puero Episcopo libere capelle Regis Sti. Stephani.
In denariis de eleemosina ipsius Regis in vigilia S.
Nicholai, prout consimili Episcopo temporibus progenitorum dicti domini Regis in vigilia predicta antiquiores solvere consueverunt per breve generale currens
ut supra

xxs.

It is said of Ethelwolfe that he was so well learned and devout that the clerks of the church of Winchester made choice of him in his youth as Bishop, and that he was Bishop of that See seven years before he became King. Although no "Child Bishop" in the strictest sense, it is of interest to learn that others traced the lineaments of episcopacy in Ethelwolfe while he was yet a stripling.

Albanus tells of a custom in Franconia among the scholars, for one on St. Nicholas' Day to play the Bishop, and other two to act as his deacons. After divine service in the church, the Bishop's subsidy was gathered from

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790.

the townfolk. The origin of this may have grown out of a desire to manifest and encourage a kindly spirit among and towards children. A boy being selected to act the part of a "Nicholas" to his companions, received like recognition at the hands of the people. The custom was to fast on the eve of the day, in anticipation of the good things which St. Nicholas would bring. To shut one's doors on St. Nicholas and his clerks was to incur something more than ecclesiastical censure.

At Winchester College (A.D. 1415-1462), we meet with the following :—

In dat' diversis hominibus de Ropley venientibus ad Coll.	
die Innoc. et tripudiantibus et cantantibus in aula	
coram Episcopo Scholarium	xxd.
Dat' Epo' Nicholatensi visitanti Dominum custodem in	
hospito suo de nocte Sancti Nicholai	iiijd.

The following extracts from inventories are representative only, furnishing details relating to the vestments and other ornaments in use in the Boy Bishop ceremonial. They are set down without any particular regard to order or arrangement. Episcopal apparel is, of course, restricted to the Boy Bishop's use, while albs, copes, etc., are specially associated with the attendant choristers.

At Lincoln (1536) "a coope of Rede velvett with rolles and clowdes ordeyned for the barne bisshop with this scripture THE HYE WAY IS BEST" is mentioned.

Perhaps the most important among the inventories which have come down to us is that found in the well-known *Northumberland Book*, given as follows :—

Imprimis j myter well garnished with perle and precious stones with nowches of silver and gilt before and behind.

Item iiij rynges of silver and gilt with four redde precious stones in them.

Item j pontifical with silver and gilt, with a blew stone in hytt.

Item j owche broken silver and gilt, with iiij precious stones and a perle in the myddes.

Item a Crosse with a staf of coper and gilt with the ymage of St. Nicolas in the myddes.

Item j vesture redde with lyons of silver with brydds of gold in the orferores of the same.

Item j albe to the same with starres in the paro.

Item j white cope stayned with cristells and orferes (of) redde sylkes with does of gold and white napkins about their necks.

Item iiij copes (of) blue sylk with red orfeves trayled with whitt braunches and flowers.

Item j steyned cloth of the ymage of St. Nycholas.

Item j tabard of skarlett and a hodge thereto lyned with whitt sylk.

Item a hode of skarlett lyned with blue sylk.

A Westminster inventory of 1388 contains a number of ornaments for St. Nicholas,¹ including mitre, gloves, surplice, and rochet for the Boy Bishop, besides two albs, and a cope with griffins and other beasts, with fountains giving forth water; a velvet cope of divers colours, with the new arms of England, and a second mitre and a ring. In 1540, "the vijth mytre for St. Nicholas byshoppe. A great blew cloth with Kyngs on horsse back for St. Nicholas cheyre."

Among the Sarum jewels in 1214-1222, was "annulus unus ad festum puerorum."

ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.—Among the goods in 1495 *pro pueris*, are tunicles, red, white, and crimson, with orfreys of damask and velvet; one set of albs of blue damask, and two with apparels of red silk, besides a banner of St. Nicholas.

ST. FRIDESWIDE, OXFORD (*temp.* Henry VIII).—Tunicles of red and white damask and silk; amesses of blue and white baudekin, and chequered with red silk and gold, besides the albs, are mentioned as for the choristers.

OXFORD, ALL SOULS.—"j chessible, j cope and mitre for Nicholas bishop."

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—Mitres for the Boy Bishop, and numerous copes for the Boy Bishop and his train. Twenty-eight copes are thus mentioned, not only for the Boy Bishop and his attendants, but also for the "Feast of Fools."² Also "*Parvi baculi pro Episcopo puerorum*," etc., etc. In the earliest Inventory (A.D. 1245) there is a mitre for the Boy: white, flowered and embroidered with gold, the gift of John de Belemains, Prebendary of Chiswick in 1225. There was, likewise, a rich pastoral staff for his use.

NORWICH.—John Blomefield, Registrar to the Bishop of Norwich, by will dated A.D. 1506, gave a robe of worsted linen, with purple

¹ The Boy Bishop not infrequently was so called. Also "Nicholas," "Nicholas Child," St. Nicholas Bishop." His attendants were termed "St. Nicholas Clerks," and the occasion "St. Nicholas-tyde." "Goynge abought with Saynt Nycholas Clarkes" was a way of expressing participation in the gambols.

² The Church would appear at one time to have taken charge of the hurlesque as a distinct institution, doubtless to moderate its ill influence.

satin, in honour of St. Nicholas, for the Boy Bishop, to be worn *day and night* on St. Nicholas Day *within the parish*¹ In 1498, money was expended in victuals, gloves, etc., for the Boy Bishop and his attendants on St. Nicholas Day.

ST. ANDREW'S, NORWICH (*temp.* Edw. VI).—"It'm the Bishoppes sewte wt, a coope x^s."

ST. PETER MANCROFT, NORWICH (A.D. 1368).—"Imprimis one vestment of silk, viz. : One chassuble, two tunicles, one cope, and three albes. *Item*, one mitre of great price with one pastoral staff."²

ELSING HOSPITAL (St. Mary's Priory of Austin Canons).—

"A small lytell coope for a chylde bysshop xiiij^d."

WINCHESTER COLLEGE, A.D. 1421.—"Crux deaurata de cupro cum baculo pro Episcopo puerorum."

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, A.D. 1552.—"A child's cope of paynted gold;" "iij copes for children, ij of whight, j shaked with blew."

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.—"xx copes with sex tunicles for children. v albes for children."

LICHFIELD, A.D. 1345.—"Four small choir copes for the Choristers on Holy Innocents' Day." A century later, the mitre, cope, gloves, sandals, and staff are named.

YORK MINSTER.—"One cope de tissue pro Episcopo puerorum. Novem capæ pro pueris."³

LINCOLN (ST. CHRISTOPHER), A.D. 1488.—"*Item*, a cope of clothe of gold fleble for the childe Bisshop. *Item*, a cope fleble for a childe of dyvers colours, and iij copes of white bustyan and the orpharies of grene, thise iij copies being small coopes for children." "*Item*. ij awbes of say for children of oon sewte."

TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON, A.D. 1307.—"Two pairs of albes for boys;" "twenty-eight choral copes and four little copes for the choristers."

ST. BENET-FYNCK.—"A bishop Nicholas myter xviiij^d."

ST. MARY WOOLNOTH.—"The Bishopp's myter garnyshed with silver, perles, and counterfett stones. p. oz., xxij oz."

ST. KATHERINE, NEAR TOWER OF LONDON.—"*Item*, Sainte Nicholas cope xij^d."

¹ *St. Martin-at-the-Palace Gates*.—The restriction to the bounds of the particular parish would seem to imply a determination not to encroach upon other preserves. The day and night "gadding about" must have proved wearisome in the extreme to the boys concerned.

² In the north transept of this church was the chapel of St. Nicholas (Cosyn's Chantry), and these entries occur in the inventory for 1368: "*Item* for the altar of St. Nicholas, three frontals with linen cloths."

"*Item* four cloths with four ridels for the aforesaid altar."

³ The York records give the names of the Boy Bishops, and the dates of the confirmation of their several appointments during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[“ *Item*, iij silken cotes for Saincte Katerine” ¹]

ST. PETER CHEAP, A.D. 1431.—“ij childes copes for St. Nicholas, with j myter, j tunicle, j cheseble, and iij feeble aubes for childer and a Crose for the bysshope.”

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, BILLINGSGATE.—“A myter for a Bishop of Seint Nycholas-tyde garnished with sylver and anelyd and perle and counterfete stones.”

ROTHERHAM.—“Myter for the barne-bishop of cloth of gold, with two knopps of silver, gilt and enamelled.”

SANDWICH, ST. MARY.—“A lytyll chesebyll for St. Nicholas bysschop.”

WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK, A.D. 1556.—“A St. Nicholas cope.”

HADLEIGH, SUFFOLK, A.D. 1480.—“A chesible and a cope for St. Nicholas.”

NORTH ELMHAM, NORFOLK, A.D. 1547, 1 Edw. VI. —

“*It'm* for making of ye Chyldren's Coopes . . . xvjd.”

GREAT ST. MARY, CAMBRIDGE, A.D. 1503.—“*It*, a crose and staffe for Seint Nicholas.”

[A “canape for Seint Nicholas” is also mentioned.]

Among the “goods” of the last-named parish sold May, 1550, are the following :—

“*It*, ye rede cote and qwood yt St. Nicholas dyd wer the color red.”

“*It*, the vestement and cope yt Seynt Nycholas dyd wer. Also albs for the children.”

These instances from church accounts and inventories might be easily multiplied, but sufficient indication is afforded, in such representative examples, of the vesture and adornments of the Boy Bishop² and his attendants, to show the widespread and important influence of the custom in cathedral and collegiate church, as well as in town and country churches. Summarised, we find (1) the mitre, garnished with all manner of precious stones; (2) cross or pastoral staff of varied richness, in one case bearing the image of St. Nicholas; (3) the ring of silver-gilt, set with precious stones; (4) gloves, (5) sandals, (6) cope, of various material and colours, embellished with rich embroidered

¹ This entry is given as evidencing the not-dissimilar observance connected with the girls' festival of St. Katherine. “Going a Kathering” was a phrase expressive of the “gadding about” that followed the religious ceremonies, as in the case of the more popular custom of the St. Nicholas celebration.

² The very term used to designate the Boy Bishop's habit is suggestive in this direction: “*Puer Episcopali habitu ornatus*.”

work, etc.;¹ (7) a pontifical, richly adorned; (8) banner, or stained cloth, bearing St. Nicholas's image; (9) tabard, (10) hood, (11) ornamented cloth for St. Nicholas's chair, (12) alb, (13) chasuble, (14) rochet, (15) surplice, (16) tunicle, (17) robe of worsted, with purple satin (facings).²

The Dean of Durham (Dr. Kitchin) informs me that at Durham a curious echo of the custom survived in later times, in the old usage of the borrowing by the boys of the ancient copes belonging to the Cathedral. Dressed up in these, they paraded the town on May-day. It consequently ceased to answer to the Christmas festival, with which the Boy Bishop was most closely connected. At Durham his proper title was *Episcopus puerilis eleemosunariæ Dunelmensis*. Dr. Fowler's "Index to the Durham Account Rolls" shows that he was mentioned and paid every year. The charters of Finchale Priory, co. Durham,³ contain interesting references in the accounts of 1367-1528 to payments made often out of courtesy to the Boy Bishop; and we gain an insight into the varying moods of the Exchequer, probably indicative of the state of the popular mind.⁴

An entry in the *Northumberland Household Book* illustrates the manner in which the custom was observed in the house of a person of quality, year by year, on St. Nicholas' Eve. If chapel was kept for St. Nicholas,

¹ A cope for a Boy Bishop, of white satin tissue, embroidered in floss silks, with buds, flowers, etc., was exhibited by the Right Reverend Bishop Browne at a meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1861.

² This, mentioned at Norwich for use day and night on St. Nicholas Day, was a special bequest. It was probably a close-fitting sleeved gown, similar in character to the gown worn by the Cathedral choristers, until discarded in favour of the girdled cassock of a different hue, at the instance of the late Dean of Norwich, Dr. Goulburn.

³ Surtees Society.

⁴ At Corbie Abbey the expenses were borne by the *Prince of the Innocents*, to meet which the monk filling the office was upon one occasion obliged to dispose of a horse (A.D. 1516).

The Chapters of the Cathedrals of Amiens, Noyon, and Senlis made considerable yearly grants towards the cost of the feast, and doubtless this was usually the course adopted. At Rheims, in 1479, the Chapter only agreed to pay the expenses if masks were disused, trumpets not sounded, and the accustomed procession on horseback through the town was discontinued. Gregory cites Molanus as saying that the Boy Bishop was accustomed to receive certain rents during his year of office.

6s. 8d. was given to the master of the children of the chapel for one of the children ; if otherwise, and St. Nicholas "com owte of the towne where my lord lyeth and my lord kepe no chapell," 3s. 4d. The York and Beverley Boy Bishops were thus similarly rewarded.

We learn from the account of Nicholas of Newark, who is represented as the guardian of the property of John de Cave, Boy Bishop in 1396, how the matter was ordered in regard to contributions which flowed into the boy's exchequer. The offerings were derived from gifts made in the church, the contributions of the Canons, the monasteries, the nobility and others who were specially visited by the Boy Bishop.¹ The items of expenditure are very curious.² The supper on the eve of the Holy Innocents' Day was a sumptuous repast. The "visitation" was continued through town and country, with much feasting and merriment.

The Bishop and his train went, on the Octave, seven miles beyond York, to the mansion of Sir Thomas Utrecht at Kexby, who bestowed upon them iij*s.* iij*d.* So, on the second Sunday of his "episcopate" (January 7th), the Boy Bishop went his longest circuit, visiting the Priors of Kirkham and Malton ; also the Countess of Northumberland at Leconfield, who gave the Boy Bishop xx*s.* and a gold ring. At Bridlington the Prior gave him a noble, and the Priors of Watton, Baynton, and Meaux each gave iij*s.* iij*d.*, etc., etc.

The mirthful element in these festal proceedings can scarcely have been productive of an altogether wholesome influence. This must specially have been the case abroad. But question as we well may certain developments of religious mirth (if the phrase may be allowed), yet there generally are to be found traces of laudable endeavour to maintain all within the bounds of what was regarded as propriety. The solemn game of ball, the dance—where, as at Paris in 1638, the senior canon led the Cathedral choristers' frolic—the dance of the Seises in Seville

¹ One Nicholas de Newsome, the Child Bishop's tenor singer, (possibly a *quondam* Boy Bishop) received a mark ; John Baynton, for chanting the medius voice, had *xs.*, etc., etc. These proceedings furnish an interesting insight into the course of the itinerary.

² This roll has been printed in the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. vii.

Cathedral (apart from any impressiveness which we are gravely told it possesses), and many other similar customs, are based on some substantial principle of order. The dance of the Seis boys (six of the ten principal boys, who are boy canons, and live under a director in a house of their own), for example, owes its origin to the fact that a number of children dancing outside the Cathedral church held an invading band of Moors (who had sought to pillage the church) spell-bound, and thus averted harm. For this reason the dance is religiously maintained.¹

An important feature in relation to the Boy Bishop ceremony is that of the coinage of tokens. In a well-known work² published at Paris in 1837 (which has an account of the old ceremonies drawn from the statutes of the church of Toul), the Continental *monnaies des Evêques des Innocens*, notably those of Amiens, are specially mentioned. Upwards of a hundred illustrations of various pieces, bearing appropriate types and legends, are given, some of which, with much interesting information, may be found depicted in Wright's *Archæological Album*.³ It will be sufficient here to observe that the tokens are of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date. That they assume in some cases a grotesque character—in part, at least—indicates the aspect under which the observance was not infrequently viewed. The inscription, *MONETA . EPI . INNOCENTUM*, in slightly-varying form,⁴ occurs, together with representations of such scenes as the slaughter of the Innocents, the Bishop in the act of giving his benediction, etc. It is pointed out that even in the matter of coinage the leaden tokens of the Boy Bishop bear some resemblance to the Saturnalian pieces of classic times, circulated extensively as *sigilla*. St. Nicholas' pence⁵

¹ Although not strictly a religious function, yet in Brittany, Belgium, and Germany, dancing around the altar is esteemed efficacious in cases of lumbago, and such-like maladies. Dr. Fowler tells me that the "Seises" can now hardly be said to dance: they march and bow.

² *Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens*.

³ London: Chapman and Hall, 1845.

⁴ *Moneta . Archiepi . Sci . Firmini* denotes the money of the Archbishop of the Innocents of St. Firmin at Amiens.

⁵ A line from Barnabie Goode's *Popish Kingdom* will perhaps explain the origin of St. Nicholas' pence:—

"St. Nicholas money made to give to maydens secretlie."

were in use in England at Bury St. Edmund's. In St. Mary's Church, where a St. Nicholas guild was established, a number of leaden pieces, some of the size of mediæval groats, and others of pennies, were found in the chancel aisles in 1842-3 during certain alterations.¹ Figured inscriptions of these pieces have appeared in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, the *Chronicle* of the Numismatic Society, and in the late Mr. S. Tymms' *Account* of the Church. Mr. Roach Smith was disposed to regard these tokens as "medals of presence," struck to be given to such as assisted at some particular service. Mr. Daniel Hough regarded them as commemorative of the solemnity of the Boy Bishop, and he gives weighty reasons in support of his contention.² When, as in England, the ceremony of the Boy Bishop was more exclusively of a religious character, the name only of St. Nicholas is impressed on the money, and not, as we have seen in France, where the name of the Bishop of the Innocents occurs. The varieties of type are readily accounted for when it is remembered that new pieces would be struck each year, while their resemblance to current coin attests their imitative character.

Henry VIII, "by the advys of his Highness Counsel," formally abrogated the Boy Bishop show in 1542,³ as appears by a

"Proclamation devised by the King's Majesty by the advys of his Highness counsel, the xxij day of Julie, 33 Henry viij, commanding the feasts of Saint Luke, Saint Mark, Saint Marie Magdalene, Invention of the Crosse and St. Lawrence, which had been abrogated, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days."

The following is the concluding clause :—

"Whereas heretofore dyuers and many superstitions and chyl-dysh obseruances have been used and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry partes of this realm, as upon Saint

¹ It is not unlikely that the particular spot where the tokens were discovered was the place of meeting of the St. Nicholas Guild.

² It is interesting to note the connection which formerly existed at Bury St. Edmund's between the Guild of St. Nicholas and the Song School: the brethren of the guild rendering a yearly payment to the Abbey in respect of such tenement. The "Mast'r of the Chapell of Saynt Nicholas" likewise paid a rent for his tenement.

³ "Not so much," says Warton, "for its superstition as its levity and absurdity."

Nicholas, Saint Catherine, Saint Clement, the holie Innocents, and such like holie daies, children (boys) be stranglie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit Priests, Bishopes, and Women, and so be ledde with Songes and dances from house to house, blessing the people and gathering of money; and boyes do singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with such other onfittinge and inconvenient usages which tend rather to derysyon than enie true glorie of God, or honour of his sayntes: the Kynges maiestie therefore myndynge nothinge so muche as to aduance the true glory of God without vain superstition, wyllleth and commandeth, that from henceforth all svch superstitious observations be left and clerely extinguished throu'out all his realme and dominions for as moche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe."

The allusion here to boys being dressed as women, and going about singing and dancing, receives illustration in a *Compotus* roll of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester (1441). A disbursement entry refers to the boys of the monastery, who, together with the choristers of St. Elizabeth's Collegiate Chapel, near the City, were dressed up "like girls,"¹ and exhibited their sports before the abbess and nuns of St. Mary's Abbey on Holy Innocents' Day.² An injunction was given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe, in Oxfordshire, by Archbishop Peckham, in 1278, that on Holy Innocents' Day the public prayers should no longer be said in the church of the monastery *per parvulas*, i.e., by little girls.

The mummary of the festive occasion when boys on the Feast of St. Nicholas appeared before their patrons, is seen in the cellarer's accounts of Hyde Abbey (A.D. 1490), where masks and dresses for the boys of the convent are mentioned as in use.³

It would appear that such exhibitions had no necessary

¹ It must be borne in mind that the boys of Cathedral and Collegiate churches became the recognised actors in the stage plays, etc., of women's parts.

² "Pro Pueris Eleemosynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ Sanctæ Elizabethæ ornatis more puellarum et saltantibus, cantantibus et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatissa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in aula ibidem in die Sanctorum Innocentium."

³ It is observable that the "Moralities" or Mystery Plays came to be played by Cathedral boys, following the abolition by Queen Elizabeth of the Boy Bishop ceremonies, and were continued on Sundays as late as the time of Charles I, by the choristers of St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal.

connection with the Boy Bishop ceremony : for, if we may judge from the Statutes of the archiepiscopal Cathedral of Tullies (1497), the festival of the Boy Bishop was followed by moralities and other sports, the farces being enacted in proper dresses, without masks, but with the utmost decorum. As it has been observed, the English and French stages illustrate each other, and throw light upon their history.

Hugh Rhodes, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, wrote a poem in the days of Queen Mary, entitled, "The Songe of the Chyld-Bishop as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the ffeeldes on Saynt Nicholas' day and Innocents' day this yeaere now present, by the chylde bysshope of Poules church with his company. *Londini*, in ædibus Johannis Cawood typographi reginæ, 1555." The song itself is described by Warton as "a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary."

I have previously referred to seeming levity countenanced in connection with the ministry of boys within the Church as a part of the Childermas observances. I must not omit to mention the custom which obtained in certain places, for children to play in church on Holy Innocents' Day.¹ At what was known as "the Burial of Alleluia," it was customary in a Paris church for a chorister to whip his top from one end of the choir to another. Upon the top, in letters of gold, was the word "Alleluia."² This singular custom—a *quickenning of golden praise*, as I am led irresistably to phrase it—is really a blending together of religious service and child's play, which in very truth expressed the actual conditions of the Boy Bishop's proceedings.

The repetition of the observance at other than the accustomed time appears to have given rise to some irregularities, for Archbishop Peckham, of Canterbury, saw fit to prohibit the ceremony at any other season. On the Continent, the custom of repeating it was in vogue.

At Montserrat, the most famous place of pilgrimage in Spain, the choristers of the monastery (with its music

¹ This was allowed at Eyton, Rutlandshire, and elsewhere.

² Hone's *Every-Day Book*, vol. i, p. 199.

school dating from the tenth century), who are largely drawn from the ancient families of the country, meet yearly in solemn conclave, on the Feast of St. Nicholas, to elect one of their members to be Boy Bishop: usually, one of the most aristocratic connection, who proceeds to elect a Vicar-General and other coadjutors.¹ The Boy Bishop, arrayed in a violet mantle, &c., receives presents from the monks who are visited by him in their cells. The festivities close with a picnic provided by the Boy Bishop.

As I have before remarked, Continental usage is not to be taken as representing the real character of the English observance. The harsh judgment of many critics is based on the objectionable features that marked the celebration (mixed up as it was with many another of similar import and graver scandals), that took place out of England. A statute of the College of Navarre, at Paris (A.D. 1315), is cited by Boulay, prohibiting the scholars to perform on the Festivals of Saint Nicholas or Saint Catherine any immodest play (*ludum inhonestum*). Mention is made by other writers, of sports in the streets on St. Nicholas Day by the vicars and choral officers of a collegiate church which earned the epithet of "indecent." These outside plays were the chief (if not the only) cause of real complaint; and, as we have seen often, were allowed at other times than the Nicholas-tide. "The eleemosinary boys or choristers" of Maxstoke Priory, near Coventry, on the Feast of the Purification thus acted in 1430 (and probably yearly), at Lord Clinton's castle.² Like instances are pretty numerous, but have little or no connection with the Boy Bishop ceremony, when removed from the particular season and the religious adjuncts.

At Eton College the Boy Bishop officiated on St. Nicholas Day, not only at Evensong, but at Mass.³ The Eton *Montem*, which in process of time assumed a military rather than an ecclesiastical character, was

¹ Among the privileges enjoyed by the boys is exemption from punishment, attendance at early mass, and breakfast in bed!

² Warton, *History of English Poetry*.—Sec. xxxiv.

³ "In festo Sancti Nicolai in quo, et nulla tenu. in festo Sanctorum Innocentium, divinæ officia præter missæ secreta exequi et dici premitimus per episcopam puerorum Scholarium, ad hoc de eisdem annis singulis eligendum."

without doubt a continuation of the Boy Bishop custom. I only allude to the *Montem* observance in order to gather points of resemblance to the Boy Bishop ceremonies. The procession of the scholars to Salt Hill, the grotesque costume of the salt-bearers and their scouts or attendants, the collection of money, ostensibly for the purpose of supporting their Captain while at the University,¹ may not be very suggestive of features common to these functions, but that the celebration in early days took place on one of the days between St. Nicholas and the Holy Innocents' Day, taken in conjunction, is sufficient to establish the fact. The Eton Captain I am inclined to regard as the legitimate successor of the *Nicholas child*.

In the Wardrobe Accounts, 19 Edw. III, is an entry which gives some indication of a reputation enjoyed by the boys attached to the Cathedral Church of Antwerp, whose fame may have quickened the zeal of English choristers and their governors. It is as follows:—

“EPISCOPO PUERORUM ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti
coram domini rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum
Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis xiijs. vjd.”

This, of course, would have no direct bearing upon the religious festival itself.

These remarks will be incomplete if some mention be not made of Childermas Day (*Cildu-mæsse-dæge*). Westminster Abbey was hallowed on this day, which offers one of the few instances of the retention of the word “mass,” indicating its high position as a festival. Yet it has been regarded as an “unlucky day,” and events begun on that day are, it is said, never likely to be finished. It is an old custom to ring a muffled peal in many churches on this day;² occasionally it is a funeral knell only. The York fabric rolls note the fact that the colour of the Boy Bishop's cope on Innocents' Day was *red*, the purple of episcopacy giving way, I assume, either to the festal colour or the red of martyrdom.

¹ An estate belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral was originally bequeathed to the two senior choristers for a like purpose.

² The custom may be instanced at East Dereham (St. Nicholas) and elsewhere, of ringing on St. Stephen's Day.

The alleged custom of whipping children upon the morning of Holy Innocents' Day, a form of re-enactment of Herod's cruelty, is thought to have produced a lasting remembrance of the event in juvenile minds. This mild species of chastisement is on an equality with the afore-stated signs of mourning, etc., while the happiness of childhood is displayed in the subsequent festivities offered them. John Gregorie, in his treatise, says that at Oseney a child's foot was produced on this day, decked in colours of red and black, which was solemnly carried about and adored by the people. This strange custom is said to have been maintained on the authority of a Ritual belonging to the Abbey. An instance of the widespread feeling with regard to this day being one of ill-omen appears in the postponement of the coronation of King Edward IV from that particular day. The Church expressed her sense of this sorrowful day by omitting the *Te Deum*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Alleluia*; and the *Ite, missa est* was not read in the Mass. The ordinary vestments also, except when the day coincided with the Sunday after Christmas, were of purple.

"The mock of St. Nicholas," "the somewhat mythical dignity of the Boy Bishop," is, I cannot help thinking, entitled to rather more dispassionate consideration than it has hitherto received. Lacking, as it undoubtedly was, in some essentials that serve to render an office dignified, it yet possessed features of importance that could not but tend, if properly estimated, to dignify the sacred calling of the cathedral chorister, who has in the past been cruelly wronged. The Church, wisely or unwisely, instituted the office of Boy Bishop, attaching to the position many marks of honour. In her service books the special ceremony has a place, and is invested with solemn rites that serve to remind us of the fact that the religious education of the young is no new thing, neither is the interest minimised or unsustained so far as the young are themselves concerned.¹ The Reformed Service book, beyond a solitary collect for the use of the Church at large, gave us nothing in its place, leaving us to our

¹ "A Service and Solemnity of Children," I have seen it somewhere described; and the day "the children's holy day."

own desires to fashion, as best we may or can, an occasional service for children.

Strype remarks in favour of the custom, that "it gave a spirit to the children," and the hope of attaining at one time or another the real mitre made them read their books. It may be of interest to say that several of the Popes were choristers: Wulstan, the singing-boy of Peterborough Cathedral, became Bishop of Worcester; Esta, a Durham chorister, was afterwards Bishop of Durham; Nicholson and Frampton, Bishops of Gloucester, were choristers at Oxford; and others might be mentioned. But all these were men of old time.

Among other eminent personages we may mention Prene, Dean of Salisbury (chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford); a good poet, and skilled in the theory and practice of music; Yeldart, the second President of Trinity College, Oxford, who was a Durham chorister, and is known to have assisted Sir Thomas Pope in drafting the statutes that govern the College. The names of William Camden, chorister at Oxford, and Elias Ashmole, the latter a chorister of Lichfield (described by Anthony Wood as "the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England," and the intimate friend of Sir William Dugdale, whose daughter he married), ought to have a special interest for antiquaries. Art (not to include music, which has furnished, as might be expected, hosts of men eminent in the profession) is represented by Sir Augustus Calcott (the brother of Dr. Calcott, the musician), a chorister in Westminster Abbey.

It would be interesting to learn how far, and in what direction, boys who had been "bishops" attained to eminence in after-life. "One who has sung long in the cathedral church, and is comely in character and person,"¹ and subsequently elected to the dignity of a Boy Bishop, would possess no inconsiderable power, which, rightly governed, would be of great service to the Church. Equally pleased should we be to possess fuller information regarding the custom as observed in different

¹ *Salisbury Statutes*. The York Acts required that he should be *competenter corpore formosus*.

localities. A considerable body of literature bearing on the Boy Bishop must have perished. William de Tolleshunte, Almoner of St. Paul's, bequeathed to that church in 1329 "all the quires of sermons of the feasts of the Holy Innocents, which the Boy Bishops were wont to preach." Nothing can be more convincing as to the esteem in which the ceremony and the sermons were alike held, and the long continuance in England of the custom. That Colet, "a friend to the purity of religion," and a lover of children, should have countenanced the Boy Bishop observance to the extent he did, will always, to my mind (Warton's expression of surprise notwithstanding), furnish adequate recommendation of a much-abused—because little appreciated and less understood—adjunct to the religious life and social requirements of the age.

It must not be forgotten that the very relaxations of former days were closely associated with the exercise of religion, and I am inclined to regard this upon the whole as a satisfactory feature. Recreation, however, should never be allowed to run to such an excess as to violate those principles which may be said to govern the religious life; and if—as we have seen in regard to the Boy Bishop ceremonies—in process of time irregularities spring up, they cannot be too promptly suppressed. But the tendency in this direction is very frequently to destroy altogether an influence which may possess for all time—if properly safeguarded—under life's ever-varying changes, no inconsiderable degree of power in the direction of maintaining a course that must approve itself, if merely viewed as a means to an end.

Neither can I forbear advocating in this connection the advancement of the Cathedral chorister to a position which is emphasized in the ordinance of the Boy Bishop: a position which of right he ought to occupy so long as the Cathedral system remains established. It is quite exceptional to find a Cathedral chorister (certainly owing to any effort on the part of the Church, which is singularly neglectful of this part at least of its charge, and seems studiously to avoid the discovery of a boy's vocation) advanced to the higher ministry, for which his early life

has more or less undoubtedly qualified him. A brief tenure of the Episcopal office is now out of the reach of the Cathedral chorister, and we desire no restoration of the temporary dignity; but it is not too much to require that the governing body of a Cathedral should religiously adhere to the "spirit" at least of the ancient Statutes, the "letter" of which, in respect of the "inferior members," has been sadly blotted. It is to be regretted that the main lesson conveyed by the Boy Bishop ceremony is largely unrecognised. The long, sad minor of the Cathedral chorister's cry, in the subdued tone that becomes his position, is still to be heard in strange contrast with the joyous note that marked the time when the Boy Bishop custom was honoured in the observance.

The following extract from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough (30th August, 1559) will suffice to show the intention to enforce a sustained interest in the choristers:—

"xix. Item.—You shall find and sustaine such Choristers as have served in the Church and have the voyces changed, or that doe serve at some lower Grammar School, and give them yerely *iiijl. vis. viijd.* out of the Common Landes for the space of five yeares."—*Kennett's MS.*, 48 sq.

A hundred years later a considerate interest is apparent in the following from Dean Duport's *Act Book*, 1666:—

"If a Quirister be fit for a Clerk's Place, he shall have it before any other."

But then, so far as "inferior members" are concerned, Capitular ordering is not fashioned after the Median and Persian code!

The Deans and Chapters of our Cathedral churches have allowed gross deviations from the expressed purpose of the founders. The infraction of the Statutes by which the Cathedrals ought to be governed is altogether indefensible. It is, of course, to be expected that anomalies and inconveniences will arise in the endeavour to carry into practice the regulations framed originally for a past period; but the baneful tendency of diverting streams consecrated by pious founders so as directly to benefit the dignitaries of the Church, and consequently to cause

grievances of a most aggravated kind to the inferior members, ought not to be allowed to form any part of such anomalies, which, perhaps more than anything else, have been the means, both directly and indirectly, of bringing the Cathedral establishment into disrepute. Those who have laboured in the service of the Church ought not, as it has too frequently happened,¹ to be systematically passed over, *e.g.*, in the bestowal of vacant Cathedral benefices in favour of nominees of individual members of the Chapter, not infrequently the selection of an outsider friend. The Cathedral chorister receives scant reward and very slender attention, and when the service ceases on failure of the voice, he is calmly snuffed out and forgotten. Robert Testwood, a chorister of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, whose name is recorded in *Foxe* as one of the earliest to lay down his life for the principles of the English Reformation, does not stand alone in the annals of martyrdom. *Martyrum candidatus exercitus* claims its own, at sundry times and in divers manners.

¹ *Vide* the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Cox's "Clerical Restlessness" in *Bell's Life* and elsewhere.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

At the conclusion of note 2, p. 48, of Part I of this volume, add :—
"The upper, second and first, or lower steps or forms in the Cathedral are the rows of stalls or seats respectively, where the Clergy and boys sat according to their rank.

P. 45.—After the words, "they reign with God and," insert "the Lamb, and the Lamb of."

In Bp. Grandisson's *Ordinale*, at this point, the Exeter Use (1337) has the *Gloria*, and the Boy Bishop censes the great cross near the choir door.

After the words, "Let us rejoice in the Lord," insert "and rejoice ye righteous" (*ex exultate iusti*), followed by 'R,' and "be glad all ye that are true of heart" (*et gloriâmini omnes recti corde*).

In the first known edition of the Sarum *Processional*, printed by Morin at Rouen, in 1508, appears the rubric following :—

"*In die Sanctorum Innocentium ad Vesperas post memoriam de Sancto Johanne accipiat cruciferarius baculum Episcopi puerorum ad cantet antiphonam Princeps ecclesie sicut ad primas Vesperas. Similiter Episcopus puerorum benedicat populum supradicto modo, et sic compleatur servitium hujus diei.*"

In the procession to the altar, incense was used; lighted candles at Vespers on the Feast of the Nativity, and three days after at Vespers.



LACOCK CHURCH.¹

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.



F the Norman church which formerly existed at Lacock not a stone remains *in situ*, but during works of reconstruction many Norman as well as later fragments, used as old material, have been found in the walls. The church is cruciform and, up till 1861, the north transept was, in the main, an unaltered work of the fourteenth century of good proportions. There is no older work remaining in the church. The lower part of the western tower is of the fourteenth century, but the tower has been very much altered in the fifteenth century and the parapet and spire do not appear to have been erected before the sixteenth century. To the tower is attached a stone-vaulted western porch, of late date, erected by one of the Baynard family, of Lackham, as an armorial shield in the vaulting shows.

The Lady Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, is a very fine work of the fifteenth century. It has stone vaulting, with pendants, which though not exactly a fan-vault approximates very nearly to it.

The north aisle of the nave is also of the fifteenth century and probably of much the same date as the Lady

¹ The reader is referred to a Paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 342, June, 1896) for a full description of the church, to that date. The present Paper is intended to put on record some additional unpublished facts and to correct some inaccuracies in the Report of the Visit of the Association (*Journal*, vol. xi, p. 67); for instance, Robert of Gloucester is mentioned in an old record as Rector of Lacock, at a date long before the foundation of the Abbey, but he had nothing whatever to do with the erection of the parish church, as stated in the *Journal*.

Chapel. There is a strong analogy between them. This aisle is earlier than the north nave-arcade and was originally vaulted. Internally, the remains of the springers of the vault may be seen against the north wall, and the span of the vault may be seen by the remains of the wall-rib of the vaulting, over the west window. This shows that the position of the springers, on the south side, was considerably too much to the north for the position of the present nave-arcade and that, when the vaulting was erected, an older and thicker north nave-arcade, probably Norman, must have been standing. When the present arcade was erected, all intention of retaining vaulting, in the aisle had been abandoned, as the spandrils of the arcade are panelled on both sides. The aisle has evidently lost a great deal of its internal effect by the destruction of its vaulting. The north and south nave-arcades are probably not exactly of the same date, as there is a difference in the caps of the shafts. The south arcade has panelled spandrils, on the north side only, but the south aisle has never had any other than a wooden roof, of which traces remain. The nave has a high clerestory and transept-arches rising to the full height of the clerestory. The roof is of the wagon type, boarded in modern times between its principal timbers throughout, but originally in its eastern panels only. There have been originally three tie-beams, one in the centre and one at each end, but the easternmost tie-beam has been cut away for the insertion of a window, probably in the time of Henry VII. The present chancel-arch, which is of the same height as the transept-arches and of very similar character—late Perpendicular—is later than the window just mentioned and cuts up into it. The probability is that the window originally had a horizontal sill and was erected when an earlier and lower chancel-arch was standing. Externally, an open parapet, in the centre of which the base of a niche remains, follows the line of the window-arch. The niche itself was no doubt removed to lighten the weight, for the insertion of the chancel-arch evidently caused a failure of the building and the arch itself is patched with a stone on which no moulding has ever been worked. The

window-arch is tied, at the springing, by an iron rod to counteract the same failure.

The builders of the Perpendicular transept-arches had contemplated rebuilding the transepts, which were too low for their roofs to clear the arches, which therefore remained blocked with lath and plaster above the springing. In 1861, some promoters of the then "Restoration" insisted on opening these arches, against, I believe, the original intention of the architect. The operation was accomplished in a clumsy manner by raising the walls of the transepts in a manner injurious to the building and destructive to its proportions. This has produced a state of things calling for rectification and it may be well to put on record here the fact that plans for such rectification have been prepared, but there seems to be little prospect of the necessary money being obtainable for some time to come.

The west wall of the south transept is, in the main, old, but the only ancient feature *visible* is the arch between the transept and the south nave-aisle. Its south jamb is untouched late fourteenth-century work and the arch-stones have simply been reset. It seems evident that the south and east walls of this transept have been rebuilt, probably rather earlier than 1800. The south window was inserted since 1861. It is a copy of the fourteenth-century north window in the north transept and replaced a window of no great interest.

The builders of the south nave-arcade certainly did not proceed very carefully, as they ventured to support, on a new pillar of slight section, not only the great transept-arch and the smaller arch of the arcade, but also the older arch between the transept and the aisle, which they carried on a corbel, having removed its north jamb. This can only have been intended as a temporary expedient, but it was a very risky one and the northward thrust must very soon have pushed out their new work. The walling, added in 1861, made the matter worse and it became necessary, in 1875, to rebuild the pier, half the great transept-arch, half the arch of the nave-arcade and to reset the older arch, between the transept and the aisle. The old pillar proved to have a very bad

foundation. As it was an object to us, though not to the original builders of the Perpendicular work, to retain the older arch permanently, we made a stronger pier combining the sections of the slighter pier and the lost jamb of the older arch. This has proved a success, both structurally and artistically.

In the floor of the south transept is a good brass, in a Purbeck marble slab, to Robert Baynard, Esq., lord of the manor of Lackham, and his wife Elizabeth Ludlow, 1501. The owners of Lackham long used a vault, under this transept, as a place of burial.

The date of the Lady Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, appears to be fixed by the occurrence of the arms of Robert Nevill, Bishop of Salisbury, 1427-37 (on a saltire, two annulets interlaced in fess), beneath a niche, over its east window externally. The saltire cannot be made out from below and, even in Dingley's time, had the appearance of a bend. One of the north windows was removed when the fine monument to Sir William Sharington was erected. The other was blocked by a monument erected to Sir John Talbot, but the monument has lately been moved and the window reopened. It was found to be in a good state of preservation.

The probability is that the design for Sir W. Sharington's monument was prepared in his lifetime. It was a not uncommon practice for a man to direct, in his will, that his monument should be made according to a design, prepared and signed with his hand. He died in 1553. The monument was erected in 1566. The character of the design is of the earlier date. The execution is not equal to Sharington's own work, particularly as regards the carving of the scorpion badges, which are very coarse and badly proportioned, whereas those at the Abbey are finely executed. When this monument was erected the west arch of the Lady Chapel, opening from the north transept, was walled up and in the wall was inserted a Renaissance doorway, similar to those at the Abbey but having a stone face to each side. The stops to the chamfers of the jambs of this doorway, which though removed still exists, differ from those of Edward VI.'s time and have an Elizabethan character. The arch was unblocked, about 1867, and the

doorway taken down without much care, but on an addition being made to the National Schools shortly afterwards, it was re-erected in that building, but slightly increased in height as being originally too low for modern convenience. The arch was found to have been much mutilated in the walling-up, but two archæological points came to light on the unblocking. It appeared that, shortly after the building of the arch, a low stone screen had been erected across it, from the absence of any painting in that part. Above this the original painting was found, much more delicate than that now seen throughout the chapel which is a rough imitation of the original. The date of this repainting is later than 1714, as it was not found behind Sir John Talbot's monument. I should think about 1740 would be a probable date. The chapel was "repaired" in 1777, but, on consideration, I do not think they had feeling enough, at that date, for such ornate decoration to have done the repainting then.

The monument of Sir William Sharington has suffered much from this coarse late painting. In Dingley's time (1684) the tinctures of the coats-of-arms were correct. Now they are falsified. There are three shields in the recess of the monument: on the west side, Sharington with quarterings, impaling Bouchier with quarterings, and a bendlet sinister; in the centre, under the soffit of the arch, Sharington, etc., impaling Walsingham quartering Writtle; on the east side, Sharington, etc., impaling Farington.

The first wife of Sir William Sharington was Ursula, natural daughter of John Bouchier, Lord Berners.

His second wife was Elyanor, daughter of William Walsingham and sister of Sir Francis Walsingham.

His third wife was Grace, daughter of — Farington, of Farington in Devonshire and widow of Robert Paget, Alderman of London.

In the head of the monument is the shield of Sharington, quarterly, viz., 1st and 4th, Sharington; 2nd, Swathing (*azure*, a bend *argent*)—this coat has generally been attributed erroneously to Lavall; 3rd, Fransham.

A good deal of the original glass remains in the head .

of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The floor of the chapel appears to have been originally rather lower than the floor of the chancel. The masonry of the western arch is built against the remains of a panelled opening in the north pier of the chancel-arch. This was of considerable height and may have been for processional



Lacock Church : Lady Chapel and Sir W. Sharington's Monument,
from Chancel.

purposes. It was utilised for making a hagioscope, when the chapel was built. This hagioscope has now been built up, for strength, as this was one of the weakest points in the church. On the north side of the arch is a double hagioscope, for viewing the high altar and the altar at the east end of the chapel.

The chancel, which was rebuilt in 1777, with the

exception of that part of the north wall where the Lady Chapel abuts and a very small portion of the west end of the south wall, has lately been remodelled, by subscription, as a memorial to William Henry Fox Talbot (born 11th February, 1800, died 17th September, 1877), from the designs of Harold Brakspear, Esq., F.S.A., Architect. A memorial inscription, at the back of the sedilia, records the fact.

The chancel was reopened, 12th June, 1903. By this work the internal effect of the church has been greatly improved, as the chancel was formerly bald in the extreme and had a comparatively low plaster ceiling. The present oak roof is new.

During the progress of the work, the west jamb of the inner arch of a rather late fourteenth-century window and part of the arch were found *in situ*, in the south wall of the chancel, close to the chancel-arch. From its position it was probably originally a low side window. In the fifteenth century the lower part of the jamb had been cut back and a doorway inserted, leading obliquely to the south transept. We only cleared the head of the doorway, but it appeared to be distinctly a door and not a hagioscope. It may, perhaps, have been used for some processional purpose. There should be in my possession a ground plan of the church, made in the eighteenth century, which I remember well but it seems to be lost or mislaid, which showed a slanting projection, at the south-west corner of the chancel and open to the latter, which was probably in connection with this door. We left one stone of the window-arch exposed to view, but the rest we were obliged to cover up again. A great number of stones of these fourteenth-century windows were found, re-used as old material, in the walls, showing that, previous to 1777, more than one of these fourteenth-century windows must have been standing and must have been then pulled down.

It was at first intended to re-erect the monument of Sir John Talbot (died 1714), which had blocked the north window of the Lady Chapel, *in its entirety*, against the north wall of the chancel, but it becoming apparent that it would be a considerable obstruction, that it was

doubtful whether it would look well, and taking into consideration the fact that the outer and central portions of the monument, though all erected at the same time, did not harmonise, I determined to re-erect in that position the central part only, which is complete in itself, and to re-erect the outer part—two Corinthian pillars supporting a carved pediment—against the south wall of the churchyard, facing north. This is, of course, a great liberty to take with a monument and it was done against the protest of the architect, but the fact is that the two portions look a great deal better, now that they are separated, than they ever did when combined.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1905.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Miss Mason, The Grange, Malvern.

Miss Sadleir, 17, De Vere Gardens, S.W.

Miss Grace Tong, B.A.Lond., Cliff House, Lincoln.

Miss M. A. Williams, 16, Alma Road, Clifton, Bristol.

William Bruce, Esq., Breamore Lodge, Sundridge Avenue, Bromley, Kent.

W. A. Cater, Esq., 40, Langdon Park Road, Highgate, N.

Alderman E. Harris, Abingdon, Berks.

Gordon E. P. Hills, Esq., 7, New Court, Lincoln's Inn.

Rev. Charles F. Kite, The Clergy House, Chislehurst

A. W. Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S., F.L.S., 8, Cumberland Place, Southampton.

G. H. Lindsay Renton, Esq., Cottingley, Kingston Hill.

E. G. Tooker, Esq., 222, Ladbroke Grove, W.

Mr. Emmanuel Green, F.S.A., read an interesting Paper on "The Roman Channel Fleet, with Notes on Clausentum and the Isle of Ictis," which will be published in a subsequent part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Green traced the history of the Roman *Classis Britannica* from the time of the Emperor Claudius, through an existence of four hundred years—a history which has been hitherto overlooked—and drew attention to various inscriptions and other evidence, particularly to an inscription found at Boulogne, mentioning a trierarch who was contemporary with Claudius, and to the number of tiles and bricks which have been found on both sides of the Channel, bearing the

letters CL. BR. Mr. Green dealt at length with the revolt of Carausius, the success of which was due to his obtaining possession of the Channel Fleet, and with the recovery of Britain by Constantius Chlorus from Allectus, the murderer and successor of Carausius, whose base was Clausentum, close to the present Southampton, a place of great importance, strategically and commercially, as guarding the western end of the narrow seas, and forming an outlet for the trade in lead from the Mendip Hills. Mr. Green then dealt with the traditional accounts of the tin trade of Britain in Roman and pre-Roman times, giving the results of an exhaustive examination of the classical writers who mention the subject, and arriving at the conclusion that all their statements really refer to the tin-mining carried on by the Romans in the west of Spain and the adjacent islands, the mistake being due to the fact that the ancient geographers placed the south-west corner of Britain in close proximity to the coast of Spain. There is no trace of tin having been worked in Cornwall until after the date of the *Domesday* Survey. Mr. Green exhibited engravings of a curiously-shaped block of metal, found in Falmouth Harbour, which has long been supposed to be an ancient ingot of tin, cast in that form for convenience of transport, and demonstrated that it was, in fact, a piece of shaped ballast for a sailing-boat. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Compton, Mr. Gould, Mr. Forster, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20TH, 1905.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR,

The following Member was duly elected ;—

The Cornell University Library, U.S.A.

The Chairman (by kindness of Canon A. H. Prior, the Vicar of Mansfield, Notts.), exhibited a photograph of Letters Patent of Philip and Mary, relating to a former endowment of Mansfield Church—an interesting specimen of the engrossing of the sixteenth century. Early in the reign of Henry VIII, Dame Cecily Flogan left certain tenements in Mansfield to her executors, upon trust to maintain a chantry priest in Mansfield Church for ninety-nine years, and instructed them to purchase the King's licence to amortise the property and found a chantry in perpetuity. Under the Statute of Edward VI for the suppression of chantries, the property came into the hands of the Crown, and Mary, by these Letters Patent, re-granted it to the Vicar

and Churchwardens of Mansfield, whom by the same Letters she created a corporation. Unfortunately for the benefice, it was subsequently held that the confiscation and re-grant covered only the term of ninety-nine years, and the right heirs of Dame Cecily Flogan were successful in an action to recover the reversion.

Mr. C. H. Compton, Vice-President, read a Paper on "Arbroath Abbey," the remains of which the Board of Works has undertaken to preserve, as announced in this *Journal* (vol. x, p. 245). Arbroath Abbey, dedicated to St. Thomas-a-Becket, was founded by William the Lion in 1178, and occupied by Tyronensian monks, brought thither from Kelso. Mr. Compton gave interesting statistics as to the church and monastic buildings, and a full history of the somewhat troubled fortunes of the House, which held the advowson of Haltwhistle Church in Northumberland, and was therefore in a difficult position during the period when Edward I was attempting to assert his claim to feudal supremacy over Scotland. The Abbey also suffered from the feuds of the leading Scottish families of the district. The notorious Cardinal Beaton was at one time its Abbot, and it was finally erected into a temporal lordship in 1541. An interesting discussion followed.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Clyde Mystery: A Study in Forgeries and Folk-Lore. By ANDREW LANG (Glasgow), 1905.—Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley has contributed to this *Journal* so many pages relating to the peculiar objects discovered in the mud of the Clyde at Dumbuck and Langbank, that an apology for occupying more space on the subject would be necessary, had not some of our associates followed with much interest the controversy which arose as to the *bona fides*, or otherwise, of the “finds.” Dr. Robert Munro, the recognised authority on matters pertaining to crannogs, author of *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* (1890), vigorously attacked the views of those who considered the “finds” at Dumbuck of archaeological value; whilst Dr. Astley, with equal energy, maintained the authenticity of the objects, regarding them as valuable archaeological evidence, and as the works of men who were in a Neolithic state of culture.

We have no intention to re-open the discussion, but think it right to call attention to Dr. Andrew Lang's book, as it, with reservations, generally favours the views which have been expressed by Dr. Astley.

The author makes it clear that he has nothing to do with the statements as to the “carved oyster-shell,” which he regards as a limpet-shell, and anything but archaic; or with the description in these pages of an object as being a “churinga”; but (differing from Dr. Munro) considers that parallelism exists between the objects from the Clyde and those found in Portugal (described in this *Journal*, vol. x).

It is needless to add that, being written by Dr. Lang, this little volume is enjoyable, whether or no the reader be of the archaeological world; but to us the main point is that the author agrees with those members of the British Archaeological Association who, having handled and examined the relics, retain an open mind as to the archaeological value and genuineness of some of those which were exhibited.

If we hazard an opinion, it is that while most of the “finds” are genuine antiques, some joker has inserted various objects, decorated

in the nineteenth century. Of this joker's proceedings, Mr. W. A. Donnelly, who was responsible for the objects found at Dumbuck, was doubtless profoundly ignorant; and it need hardly be said that Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., is above suspicion as to connivance with deception of any description.

As Dr. Lang says, even "the best authorities may view antiquities differently." Jupiter nods occasionally, and we are in entire sympathy with the words at the conclusion of the book: "We should not bluntly dismiss the mass of disputed objects as forgeries, but should rest in a balance of judgment, file the objects for reference, and await the result of future excavations."

When any of our Associates are in Edinburgh, they may care again to examine the mysterious enigmatic subjects of so much controversy. The objects repose in a case in the National Museum, and there, "as in the Morgue, lies awaiting explanation the *corpus delicti* of the Olyde Mystery."

With regret it must be added that since Dr. Andrew Lang's book appeared, Mr. W. A. Donnelly has passed away. The following notice of his death appeared in *The Athenæum*, January 6th, 1906:—

"We regret to notice the death of Mr. W. A. Donnelly, well known alike as an artist and antiquary. In the latter character he became intimately associated in the public mind with the discoveries of the much-discussed cup-and-ring markings at Auchentorlie, the Roman fort at Dumbaie, and the crannog at Dumbuck. As an artist, he had been for many years the Scottish representative of *The Illustrated London News*, and had executed several royal commissions for commemorative pictures of notable public events."

Recent Discoveries.—During the past year, an important work has been begun by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who are conducting excavations on the site of a Roman camp at Newstead, a little more than a mile to the east of Melrose. This camp occupies an excellent situation on the south side of the Tweed, and the line of the Dere Street can be traced to it across the Cheviots from High Rochester, in Redesdale (Bremenium), the *terminus a quo* of the first of the Antonine *itineræ*. The excavations have revealed the existence of two camps occupying much the same site—a smaller and earlier fort, and a later extension. An altar, dedicated to Jupiter by a legionary soldier, has been unearthed, as well as a slab, probably sepulchral, mentioning the Twentieth Legion, and a fragment bearing the tantalising letters *VR*, which may possibly be part of an inscription set up under Lollius Urbicus, who was Governor of Britain under Antoninus Pius, invaded

Caledonia, and constructed the Antonine Wall between the Forth and Clyde.

While we are dealing with this subject, it will be interesting to those who took part in the Newcastle Congress and visited The Chesters (*Cilurnum*), to hear that a well has been discovered in the north-west quarter of the forum at that place. The well, which is about five feet in diameter and lined with fine masonry, showed signs of having been purposely blocked up. It has been partially cleared, but the flow of water prevented a complete examination. Another well, of smaller diameter, has been discovered on the lawn of the mansion, to the west of the fort; but, here again, the abundance of the water supply put an end to exploration.



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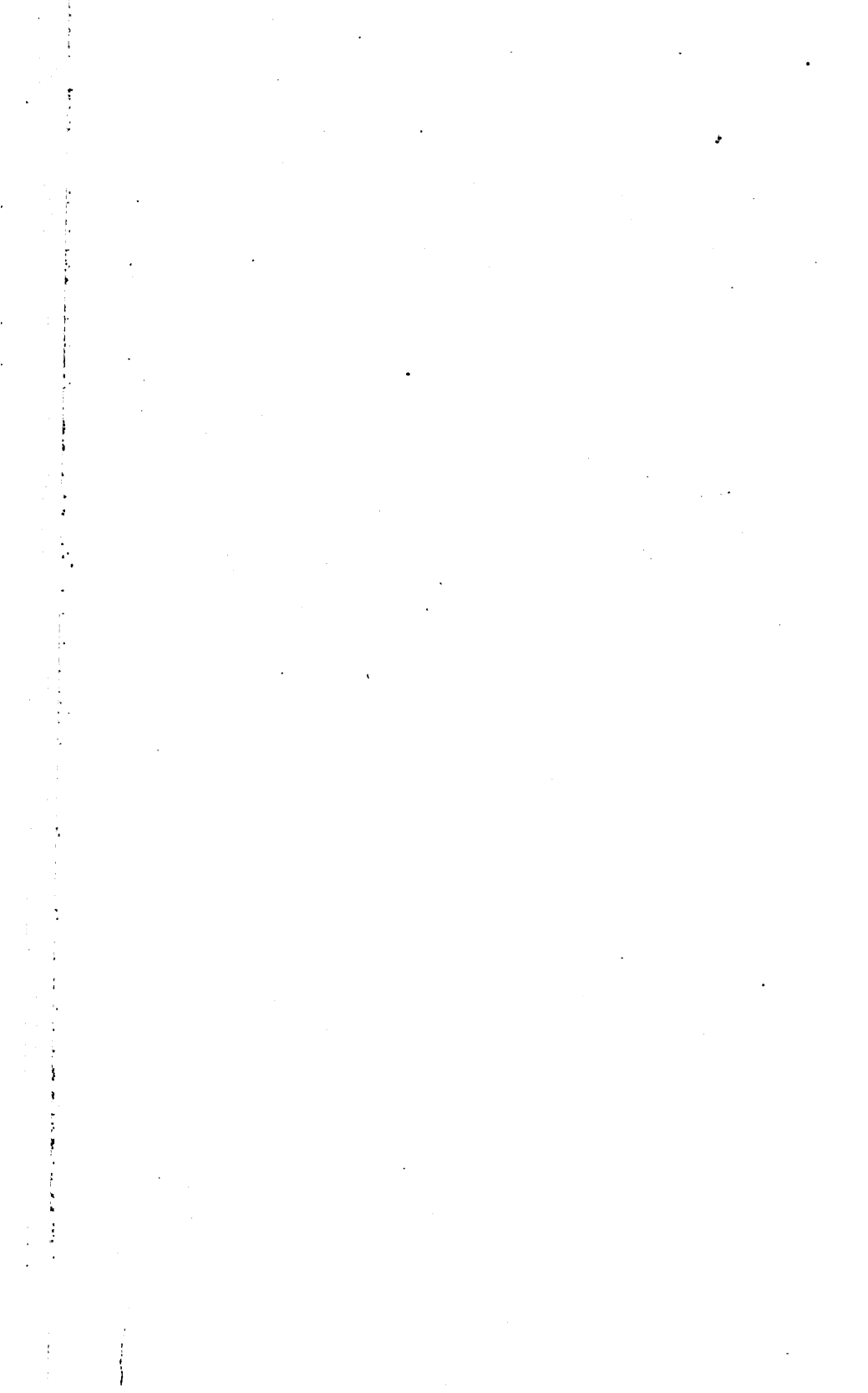
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